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<b>Title</b>	Intercultural Arts Education : Initiating Links between Schools and Ethnic Minority Communities, Focusing on the Kweneng West Sub-District in Botswana
<b>Author</b>	Khudu-Petersen, Kelone
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**Intercultural Arts Education: Initiating Links between  
Schools and Ethnic Minority Communities, Focussing  
on the Kweneng West Sub-District in Botswana**

**Kelone Khudu-Petersen**

**PhD  
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## **ABSTRACT OF THESIS**

This study is based on the already established discovery that primary school children in the Kweneng West Sub District of Botswana, who are predominantly of BaSarwa and BaKgalagari ethnicity, show poorer academic performance and higher school dropout rates than the average pupils of the country. The study seeks to explore the possibility that in the Botswana education system, where the dominant culture determines the school's culture of dealing, failure to recognise and embrace the culture of the ethnic minority learners may contribute to the afore mentioned imbalance. In an effort to contribute towards positive change in educational practice, the study aims to investigate the feasibility and efficiency of implementing 'Intercultural Arts Education' (ICAE). ICAE is the collaborative intercultural teaching of Creative and Performing Arts involving adult members of the community who represent the local 'ethnic minority' cultures. The study seeks to evaluate the impact of the introduction of ICAE on pupils' attitudes towards school, cultural consciousness and academic performance and on teachers' attitudes towards their duties and the village community.

The findings reveal that peoples with non-Tswana background are disadvantaged in the education system of Botswana due to cultural non-recognition. Including Community-Based Education, collaborative work based on dialectic reason, child centred approaches, community involvement in classroom teaching preferably in form of project teaching based on communities' cultural capital and interdisciplinary teaching, ICAE may provide a way to bridge the cultural gap between learners and the school, contributing towards the promotion of social justice through striving for equality and ontological security. Introducing ICAE as envisaged leads to more open and inclusive norms of discourse, lifting all involved to more powerful positions with an improved sense of self-worthiness.

Triangulation is applied in the data collection concerning sources of information, methods of data collection and persons carrying out observations and data-analysis. The analysis draws on the idea of critical realism.

The thesis recommends the implementation of ICAE in two phases: In the first immediate phase a redesign of the syllabus is promoted to include literary arts in the subject 'Creative and Performing Arts', to encourage the teaching of the arts as a truly integrated subject and to involve community members in teaching the arts based on the communities' cultural discourse. In addition teacher in-service training is recommended to prepare for teaching children with different linguistic and cultural background. In the second phase collaborative action research involving all stakeholders is envisaged to explore the inclusion of political aspects of Community Based Education and the extension of intercultural education towards other subjects.

## **DECLARATION**

This thesis has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. Included in the appendices is a copy of an award that I received from the Scottish Storytelling Forum in recognition of the effort and intention of this research work namely to use the arts, especially storytelling, to improve intercultural collaboration and to encourage young learners to be confident and creative.

Kelone Khudu-Petersen

June, 2008

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## PROLOGUE

I believe humanity could make a significant step in the direction of social justice if we all traced back our origin and realised that: “We are all from one womb!”

In Luuzwe, the village from which my father originates, we stopped at the village meeting centre (*kgotla*), where we found a group of elderly men, including the village chief. I was in the process of deciding upon the villages to be involved in my research. Meeting the men, I reported how I was out on a mission to investigate the causes of poor results and high dropout rates in schools in the Kweneng West Sub-District. I told them my intention to initiate dialogue and cooperation between the teachers/the school and people from the community in order for them to work together to improve the level of education in schools. The elders showed great interest in the project. When they asked if I thought of involving the people of Luuzwe in my research, I expressed doubts, as I was not sure whether it was advisable to conduct research in *my* own community.

At this point one of the elders, my great-uncle Morolong Tshaila, laughed out loudly and, speaking directly to me, he rolled out our genealogy going back about eight generations. Within the genealogy he placed his own forebears, the ancestors of the other men and those of both, my mother and my father. He spoke of an old Molehele as ‘father of the clan’, and he spoke of a famous man called Moilakgofe, nicknamed ‘*Maburi*’, a word stemming from ‘*puri*’, meaning ‘goat’ in our language. The word ‘*Maburi*’ means endless flocks of goats, which is what our common ancestor was reputed to have. I was greatly impressed by this large source of historical knowledge! Great-uncle Morolong concluded the story by saying: “You are a descendant of the people of ‘The Setting Sun’, your people are all over the place; you belong in all our communities!” And as if from one mouth, Great-uncle Morolong, Old Puleng (the late village chief), and the other elders said to me in chorus: “We are all from one womb!”

Reflecting upon this episode, I thought that it is the awareness of our belonging to micro cultures that opens the possibility for us to feel connected and jointly placed within the shared macro culture of humanity.

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# **1 Introduction**

The research project 'Intercultural Arts Education: Initiating Links Between Primary Schools and Ethnic Minority Communities with Focus on the Kweneng West Sub-District in Botswana' is centred on an intervention carried out in six standard four classes in six primary schools in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana – six other schools function as comparator schools. The intervention is an introduction of what I call 'Intercultural Arts Education' (ICAE), implemented in co-operation with one Standard Four (Year Four) teacher per school and several local cultural practitioners. The aim of the intervention is to find out whether ICAE could contribute towards a move towards social justice through the development of positive self assessment, a higher academic performance and an improved attitude towards school in pupils, and whether it improved teachers' attitudes towards their duties at school, the general community and the pupils.

## **1.1 Premise**

The research is based on the premise that, firstly, the prevailing social injustice in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum and that, secondly, Intercultural Arts Education has the potential to bridge the existing cultural gap between school and community, thereby alleviating problems associated with cultural alienation, which contribute to low school attendance and high dropout rates of ethnic minority pupils as well as their low academic performance. The intervention is aimed towards a more socially just education for ethnic minority learners in the Kweneng West Sub-District.



## **1.2 Research Aims**

The aims of this research are to a) investigate the feasibility of teaching Intercultural Creative and Performing Arts in schools, which enrol pupils from socially underprivileged ethnic groups, b) evaluate the impact that this has on pupils' self-assessment and cultural consciousness, c) evaluate the impact that this has on the pupils' academic performance and d) evaluate the impact that this has on teachers' attitudes towards their duties within the school and towards the village community.

## **1.3 Research Questions**

- a) How far is the above mentioned first premise shared by the stakeholders, that inefficiencies in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum? (The stakeholders willingness to entertain the premise is a precondition for participation in this project)
- b) Is ICAE feasible in the Kweneng West district?
- c) Does ICAE change the stakeholders' attitude towards persons with a different ethnicity and towards school?
- d) Does ICAE have a positive impact on the self-assessment and the academic performance of ethnic minority learners?

## **1.4 The Structure of the Thesis**

Chapter one presents the introduction of the thesis. Before giving an overview of each chapter, it portrays the research aims, the rationale and the research questions.

In Chapter Two the research area is introduced. Firstly, specific terminology is translated from Setswana language (the official/national language of Botswana) to English. Botswana's recent history with particular reference to issues arising in the

research is briefly presented. With reference to pre- and post-independence periods, the chapter illuminates differences in ethnic composition and political administration between the district capital, other villages and settlements of different status, as well as differences in land-use by populations of different ethnicity. Drawing on literature sources, this chapter presents an elaborative analysis of how the ethnic and political-administrative differences contribute to problems of ethnic/tribal misinterpretation, ethnic inequalities and discrimination in general, but it particularly focuses on how these issues relate to the research area. Finally, the villages involved in the research are introduced.

Chapter Three presents a general discussion on the breach of social justice in education globally, but gives a more detailed account of this issue in regard to Botswana. To elaborate on the issues pertaining to social justice generally and specifically in education, literature sources used include Rawls (1971), Young (1990), Griffiths (1993), Fraser (1997), Baker (1998), Lynch & Lodge (2002), Connell (1993) in Lynch and Lodge (2002). On generative sources of injustice or inequalities particular in regard to the education system in the UK background literature include Wolfendale (1983), Mason (1999), Blair (2002), Arora (2005) and Robinson & Diaz (2006).

After describing failed attempts to achieve equity in education in Botswana through assimilating ethnic minority groups into the mainstream Tswana culture and later through promoting multicultural approaches of education, an intercultural approach to arts-education is offered as a possible means to make meaningful contribution towards the attainment of social justice for learners of marginalised ethnic groups in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana. For the discussion on the models of operation proposed and promoted in the Botswana education system, reference is mainly drawn from governmental policy documents, but a number of studies carried out by local researchers including Nyati-Ramahobo (2002), Mazonde (2002) and Mogapi (2004) are also cited.

Chapter Four begins by presenting Botswana policy documents, some consultancy reports and results of previous studies on the education of remote area dwellers in Botswana, specifically in the Kweneng West region, to provide an overview of suggestions made and initiatives taken previously to try to improve the learning situation of Remote Area Dweller (RAD) learners. Thereafter, the chapter introduces the educational intervention at the core of the research, namely 'Intercultural Arts Education' (ICAE).

The concept is defined as 'the interdisciplinary teaching of the arts in primary schools in a project with compositions predominantly based on cultures which define the community and with the involvement of community members representing diverse cultural perspectives'. The chapter draws on various sources to build the theoretical framework underpinning the idea of ICAE. A discussion of 'Intercultural Education' is presented, as an umbrella concept within which ICAE is embedded, citing e.g. Banks (1994) and Hernandez (1999), who is critical of the reification of cultures in multiculturalism and rather promotes the use of the term 'interculturalism', Mason (1999), who promotes the development of cultural identity and self-esteem to raise resistance towards uncritical adoption of popular cultures, Whitecliffe (1999), emphasising the preservation of 'cultural sovereignty' and Richardson (1982), who argues for liberation of learners from external dominance and internalized acceptance of being culturally subordinate.

Further focus is sharpened onto the school-community collaboration in the implementation of formal education, using the arts as medium for this purpose. This element forms, besides 'Interculturalism', the second pivot of ICAE. The literature sources for this part include: Robinson (1999), in 'The (British) National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education' (NACCCE), Neperud & Krug (1995), Casanova (1987) and Kagan (1983). Still in chapter four the epistemological direction underlying Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE) is illuminated. Postmodernism is identified as one of the ideas on which the intervention leans. Sources on this theme

include Griffiths (2000), advocating for 'constructivism – which hinges on the accommodation of multiple solutions' and Hicks (1990), arguing for learner empowerment through sensitivity to cultural diversity. Finally, the inclusive nature of ICAE is further explained on basis of contemporary models such as the principles of 'Whole School' as formulated by the 'Whole Schooling Consortium' (2004).

Chapter Five presents an introduction of the methodology of the research. In an analogy of research as a journey in pursuit of knowledge, all persons involved in the research are seen as vital contributors to the programming of the Geographical Positioning System (GPS). The methodology follows constructivism, feminism and postmodernism as the main epistemological frames. As the focus in Chapter Five is to illuminate the researcher's stance on nature and source of knowledge partly by illuminating the inevitable forces that shaped and pushed the research design into rhizoid structures, the chapter presents a critical analysis of the research situation based on 'vector theory'. The discussion culminates into a synthesis explaining how the application of 'reflexivity', a feminist perspective (Griffiths, 1995) and (Tetreault, 1993), and triangulation (Miles & Huberman, 1994) could have contributed towards increased validity, reliability and credibility in the research. The chapter offers a detailed description of the research journey starting from the planning stage, a point at which the design was purposely structured in a systematic and traditional manner, developing into a more flexible approach, encouraging adaptations to unfold. The research is described as a 'bricolage' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998), targeting polyvocality in constructing a postmodernist approach to art education (Hamblen, 1991). The chapter presents the elements of bricolage employed in the research including emancipatory approaches (Robson, 2002), intervention, action research, multiple case study approach (Yin, 2003) and collaborative action research. Finally it recalls the steps of data collection and analysis employed to find results for each singularity in the multiple case study with the aim of achieving an analytic generalisation.

Chapter Six presents the methodological design and the research tools as planned for use prior to the actual fieldwork. The planned methodological procedures are presented in the hope to provide a source of reference for comparison between planned and actual research activities. The chapter elaborates on ethical concerns in the research work and explains means of the sampling procedures employed. The steps of the intervention and the data collection are presented, followed by an introduction of the pre-and post-intervention data collection tools.

Chapter Seven explains the means of the actual pre-intervention data collection. It presents the pre-intervention results of questionnaires filled in by teachers of twelve primary schools and pupils of twelve standard four (Year four) classes of the same schools, extracts of interviews of parents, cultural practitioners and village chiefs of eleven villages, written remarks made by teachers, and observations made by the researcher and assistant in standard four classes, on school compounds and at villagers' homes. The observations in classrooms apply to the general atmosphere in class and to the level of pupils' academic performance. Finally any attempts by stakeholders to cope with and to improve the learning situation are recorded.

Chapter Eight describes how ICAE was implemented. It offers a record of the methods used in and experiences of identifying teachers as project coordinators and villagers as cultural practitioners and in introducing the concept to teachers, pupils and cultural practitioners. Means of involving the stakeholders in the implementation of ICAE are presented, including a workshop conducted for teachers and meetings held with coordinators and cultural practitioners, followed by an evaluation of the stakeholders' responses. Finally, the chapter offers the rationale for model project lessons, which were conducted by the researcher. It presents the steps of the model lessons and reflects on the feasibility and effectiveness of the exercise.

Chapter Nine presents and analyses the data collected post-intervention partly using the programme QSR NVivo2. In this chapter questionnaire results obtained from teachers

and pupils are partly aggregated, grouped according to schools, gender as well as ethnicity, comparisons are drawn between these groups and the results are also viewed against the pre-intervention results. Information obtained from teachers by means of additional written comments are coded and included in the analysis. The academic performance of pupils is recorded in form of results of the Standard Four National Attainment Test (SFNAT) and observations of pupils' progress during lessons. The chapter reflects extracts of transcripts of each coordinator's interview to present their view of the implementation of the ICAE project.

Chapter Ten is a reflection on the research process. It illuminates the variables which pose a challenge to the validity, reliability and significance of the findings and presents the means employed by the researcher in an effort to minimise data misinterpretations. To illustrate these challenges and resolutions, the chapter provides some examples from the research situation. The chapter also presents examples of additional findings that emerged from the research and the unexpected ways in which they were revealed. The chapter explains how some emerging ethical and moral issues fall outside the original frame of the research question but nevertheless cause concern as they demand immediate attention, which the researcher can only offer to a limited extent due to her restricted position. The chapter offers an elaboration of how the discovery of some of the issues and the unique and unexpected ways in which they were revealed strengthen the findings of the research, offering the researcher a new perspective and increased insight into the research situation. In line with Walker & Unterhalter (2004), the importance of unique methods of communication or self-expression, namely dramatisation and narrative, is highlighted in this chapter. The chapter concludes by explaining how the researcher decides for a compromise in her ethical dilemma by informing the head-teacher and the hostel-matron about children being abused, avoiding to take strong immediate and short-term/temporary action involving higher administrative levels to protect pupils against abuse. The latter might jeopardise her efforts to gain/maintain in the near future a professional/political position in which she could achieve more sustainable action for social justice at structural level in the research area and her



country, working in collaboration with local and international colleagues as well as other stakeholders.

In Chapter Eleven the research results are discussed, summarised and then linked to existing theories, before drawing broader conclusions. After recalling the research questions and the suggestive questions arising from the analysis in Chapter Nine, the chapter elaborates on the function of cultural capital on socio-cultural reproduction and uses critical realism (Corson, 1998), a concept of discovery, which determines group interests of the stakeholders to identify common interests in improving the situation at schools, as a framework for analysis of the results. After presenting and discussing the findings that stakeholders welcomed the introduction of ICAE, albeit for different reasons, an elaboration of a strategy to alleviate the existing discrepancy in power between schools and communities is made. It is hoped that the strategy could create grounds for mutual benefit whereby all participants experience an increase in power and recognition initially through the implementation of collaborative intercultural education. Including ideas of 'education for diversity' (Corson, 1998), group interests of stakeholders are recorded with the aim of identifying structures that restrict the stakeholders' actions, attempting to identify compatible interests of culturally different groups and to develop strategies of cooperation.

The chapter further elaborates on stakeholders' responses to the introduction of ICAE. After stressing the importance of considering narratives in the analysis of information acquired from stakeholders (Walker & Unterhalter, 2004), the chapter presents an attempt to answer the research questions. It offers evidence to the effect that introducing ICAE had a positive short term effect on all stakeholders' attitudes towards school-community relations, but presents a suggestion of expanding the programme towards more extensive community involvement to include a political element for the sake of sustainability. The chapter culminates in a synthesis within which findings are embedded in various theoretical concepts including community-based education (Corson, 1998), parents-school-partnership (Taylor, 1980), dialectical reason

(Thompson, 2003) collaborative action research (Walker & Unterhalter, 2004) and ontological security (Giddens, 1993).

Chapter Twelve presents two sets of recommendations; it calls for immediate and short-term measures to alleviate the desperate situation to which learners of ethnic minorities are exposed, but calls for deeper-reaching and sustainable long-term solutions based on further research. In its closure, the chapter suggests the involvement of all stakeholders, teachers, pupils, community members, counsel representatives, education officers and lecturers from colleges of education and the university in action research for implementing ICAE in primary schools in the Kweneng West Sub-District. Finally the chapter presents the hope that ICAE could be expanded to other areas of the country and/or other types of schools; such expansion is envisaged dependent upon findings from further research.



## 2 Research Area

This chapter addresses the following issues: I translate *Setswana* expressions into English and, where necessary, explain their meaning in the Botswana context. (*Setswana* is the national language of Botswana). A short overview of Botswana's recent history with particular reference to issues arising in the research is given. The geographical research area with its population is introduced and administrative differences between villages and settlements of different status as well as differences in land-use by populations of different ethnicity are explained. I elaborate on how these differences contribute to problems of ethnic/tribal misinterpretation, ethnic inequalities and discrimination. Finally the villages involved in the research are introduced.

### 2.1 Specific Terminology

To clarify the historical, social and political context in which the research is based I will need to use some terminology that is specific to the Republic of Botswana. It is therefore necessary to introduce specific terms and to explain how they are used in the context of the thesis.

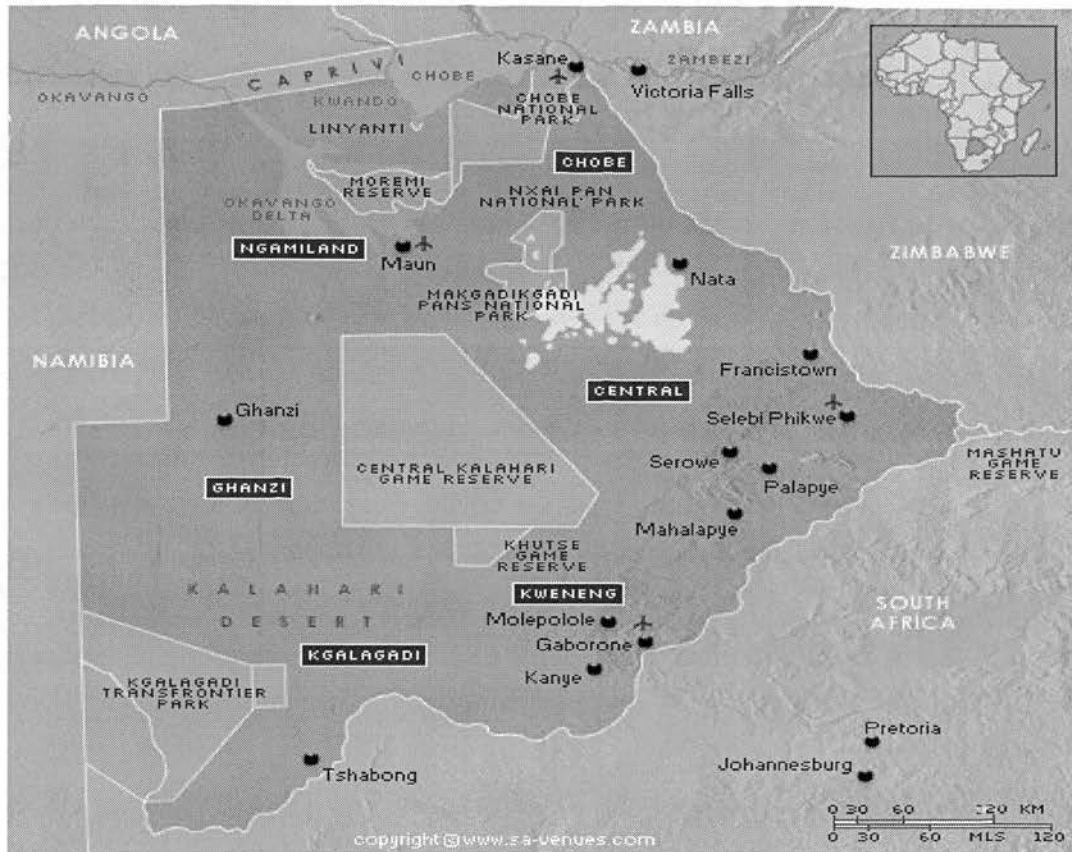
The term 'tribe' may be used to describe a) a political unit as well as b) an ethnic unit.

- a) As a political unit it translates to '*morafe*', kingdom or chiefdom. According to Bennett (2002), it was used during the Protectorate time to describe the political unit ruled by one of the Tswana chiefs, which includes the respective ethnic BaTswana, but also other ethnic groups inhabiting that area. This meaning has remained valid in Botswana's administrative structures even in post-independence times. The geographical location of the research area is the west of the Kweneng District. In the case of this district, for example, the 'tribe' Bakwena includes ethnic BaKwena, but also BaKgalagari, BaSarwa and Afrikaaner, all ruled by the BaKwena paramount chief.

- b) As an ethnic unit the term 'tribe' describes an ethnic group. In this case not all people residing in the Kweneng district will be seen as belonging to the Bakwena 'tribe', the non-BaKwena people would be classified according to their own ethnicities, e.g. BaSarwa or BaKgalagari. In this dissertation I will use the single capitalized form (Bakwena) for the political classification, the double capitalized form (BaKwena) for the ethnic classification. Accordingly, the term '*Batswana*' may be used politically, describing persons with Botswana citizenship; the same term may also describe ethnicity of a person as belonging to one of the Tswana tribes. To indicate this specification of ethnicity I will again use the double capitalized form of writing BaTswana as with other ethnic clarifications. I will, as much as possible, avoid the use of the term 'tribe' because of its association with being uncivilised. In this thesis, when referring to ethnic identity of people, I will use the expression 'ethnic group' instead.

Terminology of expressions used in *Setswana*: '*morafe*' (kingdom), '*kgosi*' (chief), '*kgosikgolo*' (paramount chief), '*masimo*' (ploughing field), '*moraka*' (cattle ranch), '*kgotla*' (meeting-place or ward), '*kgotlana*' (sub-ward), '*kgotlakgolo*' (paramount chief's kgotla). The prefix '*Mo*' is used for the singular form for a person, the prefix '*Ba*' for the plural. E.g. I am a MoKgalagari, my family members are BaKgalagari.

Generally I use the terminology of the language spoken by most inhabitants of the respective area in reference to names of areas and peoples. However, the terminology used when citing might differ from this general rule.



**Figure 2-1: Map of Botswana, Kweneng, Molepolole 2-1**

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The research area lies in the north-west of the Kweneng district, surrounding the Khutse Game Reserve.

## 2.2 History: From Bechuanaland Protectorate to Republic of Botswana

The territory declared 'Bechuanaland Protectorate' by Britain in 1885 consisted of a cluster of *merafe* (kingdoms). They were in composition multi-ethnic with several BaTswana tribes being the ruling elite. According to Bennett (2002) the status of non-Tswana tribes varied from commoners, such as BaKalanga, to foreigners, such as OvaHerero, to serfs, such as BaKgalagari and BaSarwa.

Britain initially envisaged Bechuanaland Protectorate as becoming part of South Africa. As South Africa's interests diverged from Britain's this option became less attractive. Therefore, administering Bechuanaland Protectorate became to be perceived as an obligation with few rewards. This was the basis for British reliance on the major chiefs, the successors of the Tswana kings, who had been the rulers of the main proto-states at the time of the takeover. Consequently, the protectorate government did not want to become involved too deeply in the *merafe* internal affairs, including issues of ethnic subordinations, a decision which had consequences still felt presently.

In order to further illuminate socio-political dependencies, interpersonal relationships and administrative constraints of the various groups under discussion, I find it essential to offer some insight into political and historical developments concerning chieftainship, land use and village development reflected in the district administrative system and in the social settlement structures of the country, including the research region. Below is an overview of Botswana's political-administrative structure as taken from an official governmental website (The Government of Botswana, 2007)

The government is styled on a Westminster system with an executive president as head of state and government. The President is elected by a 34 member Parliament known as the National assembly for a term of five years. The President selects his 15 cabinet ministers from the national assembly and appoints a vice-president.

Legislative power within Botswana lies with the National Assembly. The House of Chiefs, which is not part of the legislature, is composed of eight tribal chiefs of the main tribes plus seven other members, and is the equivalent of the British House of Lords. It has the constitutional function to advise the National Assembly on proposed bills affecting land use, social customs and so forth, however their recommendations have no force in law (p.1.).

At Botswana's independence in 1966, eight Tswana ethnic groups acquired the status of 'major tribes'. Other ethnic groups were considered minor, exacerbating an existing economic and political imbalance. Even though the nature of chieftainship changed, as some powers were transferred to national institutions, chiefs still act as 'traditional

leaders', as spokespersons and interpreters of culture in the House of Chiefs, a branch of Government. A problem arises for persons who do not consider themselves members of any *morafe*, as they are members of an ethnic group other than the core group, and do not see their culture represented by a paramount chief. *Setswana*, the language of the BaTswana, is considered the national language and is the only language taught at school besides English; the country's name 'Botswana' is derived from their ethnic specification; non-Tswana groups lack these privileges. Botswana's education system presents the BaTswana culture as the culture of the nation and uses their language, *Setswana* (alongside English), as a medium of communication for all including learners who are not of BaTswana ethnicity. The governmental website quoted above further elaborates:

For administrative purposes Botswana is divided into nine districts - Kweneng, North-west, Ghanzi, Central, North-east, Kgatleng, Southern, South-east and Kgalagadi. Each of these is represented by a district commissioner, under whom the dikgosi (chiefs) falls, who is responsible for the planning and implementation of the various development programmes (Ibid. p.1).

Having acquired a higher status than other ethnic groups in Botswana, the various BaTswana groups were allocated parts of the country in the form of districts as their 'tribal territories'. The non-Tswana people living within these territories were automatically subordinate, falling under the leadership of the BaTswana paramount chief in charge of the district. Although lamenting the disturbing fact of ethnic discrimination against the indigenous BaSarwa (ethnic San groups), the former president of Botswana Masire (2006) describes, in my view, their socio-political and 'professional' status as given:

In terms of governance, Basarwa have always been under the chief or paramount chief where they lived. They have served as guides and trackers for hunters, and many worked for cattle farmers..... In some cases Basarwa have been treated with disrespect or discriminated against by other Batswana (p.234).

## 2.3 The Research Area and its Population

In the research area, the Kweneng District of Botswana, the ruling Tswana ethnic group are the BaKwena, who gave the district its name and whose chief is the paramount chief, representing the whole district in the House of Chiefs. The majority of the BaKwena live in the east of the district in and around its capital Molepolole. The west of the Kweneng district is predominantly populated by the two non-Tswana ethnic groups BaSarwa (San or Bushmen) and BaKgalagari and a small minority of Afrikaaner (Afrikaans speaking Coloureds who moved in the 21st century from South Africa to Botswana).

Conducting research on 'equity' and on 'education', my work is overtly embedded in politics, which hinges on historical circumstances such as social or ethnic alliances, social interdependencies, group dominance versus sub-ordination, cross-cultural dealing and trading. It is imperative for me to consider the socio-cultural and historical background of the area and the population of my study. However, an in-depth socio-cultural, political or historical analysis is beyond the frame and focus of this work. Ramsay et al. (1996), offer an overview of Botswana's early history and other researchers have presented critical essays on historical and socio-political issues relating to the ethnic minorities, especially the BaSarwa (Good, 1999; Hays, 2002; Hitchcock, 2002; Le Roux, 1999; Mazonde, 2002a; Solway & Lee, 1990). I will draw from these sources in order to provide a general insight into the socio-political background and relations among groups involved in my research. Some of the historical circumstances and developments pertaining to the inter-ethnic relationships remain issues of debate and controversy among social scientists.

BaSarwa-ancestors (*Khoesan* ethnic groups) were the earliest inhabitants of Southern Africa, including Botswana. They populated the whole area of today's Botswana and surrounding areas in prehistoric times, including a major settlement in the Dithejwane hills near Molepolole, the current capital of the Kweneng District, an area which has wells, guaranteeing water supply for a greater part of the year.



The centuries-old history of BaSarwa occupation of the territory of Southern Africa and their distinct ethnical and cultural background distinguishes them from the majority of the peoples in Botswana, who are of Bantu ethnicity, originating from Central Africa and having moved towards the south of Africa where they found BaSarwa groups already in existence. There are various and controversial historical, linguistic and archaeological theories on the Bantu expansion and migration (Dalby, 1975; Ehret, 2001), which fall beyond the frame and scope of this work; I draw from the most common theory of their origin.

Being the first occupants of the region deems BaSarwa to be classified as indigenous or aboriginal in a number of countries of Southern Africa including Botswana. In the course of an UN workshop in 1994 the UN-Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for Social Policy and Development, Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, formulated a definition of indigenous peoples:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system (p.2).

Research acknowledges the fact that *San/Khoesan* ethnic groups, under which BaSarwa are classified, match the above description and are indeed indigenous inhabitants of the region (Hays, 2002; Mazonde, 2002). However, the government of Botswana refuses to recognise BaSarwa as indigenous, consequently denying them internationally recognised socio-political or cultural rights enjoyed by aboriginal peoples in other countries. The Botswana governmental stance is that all Batswana are indigenous, except for those who originally held a foreign citizenship (Boko, 2002).

Originally, BaSarwa lived on hunting and foraging, later some also practised small scale pastoral and arable farming. However, historical reports reflect that BaSarwa were dispossessed of their livestock by dominant groups and pushed to areas where farming was difficult to engage in (Boko, 2002; Good, 1999a).

The languages spoken by BaSarwa belong to a different group of languages than the Bantu-based languages such as Botswana's national language *Setswana* and *Shekgalagari*, the language of the BaKgalagari, who coexist with the BaSarwa in the research area. This fact has negative socio-political consequences for the BaSarwa; offices in Botswana operate in English and *Setswana*, incompetence in these languages is a handicap for any citizen as it hinders effective use of public services and it renders her/him a victim of ridicule by some civil servants, under the patriotic and ethnocentric motto '*Re Batswana, mo Botswana, re bua Setswana*', which translates to 'We are *Batswana*, we are in Botswana, we speak *Setswana*'.

Generally, the physiognomy of BaSarwa differs from that of other Batswana, as they are mostly lighter in complexion and have distinctive features. BaSarwa often describe themselves as the 'red people' compared to Bantu people, who they refer to as the 'blacks' (Mazonde, 2002a). BaSarwa are generally looked down upon. Non-BaSarwa might abuse them verbally by making negative attributions to their physiognomy; this fact adds an aspect of racial discrimination to the already unequal socio-political and economic relationship.

Though commonly classified under one name, BaSarwa derive from various ethnic sub-groups, speaking distinctly different languages. Ethnic dominance, discrimination and non-recognition of the BaSarwa have led to prejudice and misconception of their culture. As the culture of the BaSarwa is in many ways distinctly different from the culture of the ruling *Tswana* ethnic groups, their sophisticated religious practice and their complex system of land use and land ownership were often misunderstood, contributing to denial of their ownership rights and thoughtless invasion of their territory. Until recently,



Botswana's school textbooks tended to omit or understate BaSarwa cultures, including skills in the arts and crafts, their history and their rites, partly evident through impressive rock paintings. A brief description of these attributes of their culture is presented by Ramsay *et al* (1996).

The wealth of indigenous knowledge, inherited over generations, does not seem to be transferred down the generations effectively anymore among BaSarwa living in Kweneng West Sub-District. The younger generation of BaSarwa for example does not speak their mother tongue but tends to use *Shekgalagari*, the language of the BaKgalagari, as the medium of everyday communication. People from these ethnic groups have been identified to be at the bottom of Botswana's socio-economic system. Sociological research in Botswana (Good, 1999; Le Roux, 1999; Lebotse, 2002; Mazonde, 2002a) attributes this situation to the historical domination and discrimination of BaSarwa by other groups and the unfair policies of the nation state, e.g. the country's language policy and the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) of 1975 (I will elaborate on this policy later on).

Feeling greatly disadvantaged through their lack of political representation, lack of cultural sovereignty and lack of equity regarding access to national resources, some members of the BaSarwa community formed pressure groups with the aim of voicing their political grievances. One such forum is the organisation 'First People of the Kalahari' (FPK), led by the BaSarwa Roy Sesana and the late John Hartbattle. Channelling their socio-political issues through such forum, activists succeeded in penetrating the public and political arena on both, national and international, levels through media and academic publications (Boko, 2002; Dixon, 2005; Hitchcock, 2002; Leagajang, 2006; Timberg, 2005).

The ethnic group of BaKgalagari arrived later in today's Botswana. Ramsay *et al.* (1996) believe at about 400 AD. Andersson & Janson (1997) date their arrival at approximately 1000 AD. They moved into the Botswana area from the south-east and settled as rural

peoples mainly in the area now known as Kweneng district, a major group sharing the settlement in the Dithejwane Hills with BaSarwa. BaKgalagari are of *Bantu* origin, but not of BaTswana ethnicity. They are influenced by a symbiotic type of relationship with BaSarwa including intermarriages (Hitchcock, 2002; Solway & Lee, 1990)<sup>1</sup>.

Similar to the fate of BaSarwa also BaKgalagari were dominated by various BaTswana groups, in the Kweneng District by BaKwena. Many were forced to serve BaKwena farmers and to pay tribute to the Bakwena paramount chief in form of wild animal skins and livestock. The culture of the BaKgalagari was not recognised by the dominant groups with the effect that up to this day members of the BaKgalagari groups are despised by BaTswana, often referring to them as 'our children'.

Ramsay, Morton, Mgadla (1996) acknowledge high skills in leather crafts and in trade among BaKgalagari:

Many of these Bakgalagadi traders made clothes and blankets out of skins and they were thought to be the best in Botswana. Not only did such trade bring in a lot of wealth to the Bakgalagadi, but it also led to large scale migrations north into the areas they were trading in. In these areas they kept trading and seem to have been the most successful of all the merafe [tribes] in business. (p.226)

The education system of Botswana has, as in the case of the BaSarwa, also failed to acknowledge and support positive attributes of the BaKgalagari culture. The transfer of these entrepreneurship skills from generation to generation seems to have declined greatly. From being successful business people many BaKgalagari, especially those living in Kweneng West Sub-District, degraded into poverty.

However, sharing the same Bantu roots with the BaTswana, the culture of the BaKgalagari has similarities with the culture of the BaTswana and their languages are

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<sup>1</sup>There are debates and varying interpretations of the relationship between these two groups with some researchers arguing that the relationship between these two groups was of a dominant-subordinate nature, with BaSarwa at the weaker end of the socio-political scale; see the debate essay '*Foragers, Genuine or Spurious*' by Solway & Lee (1990); republished in 'Current Anthropology Volume 33 (1992)' it is followed by interesting supporting and contrasting comments from other researchers including Robert Gordon, Mathias Guenther, Robert Hitchcock, Alec Campbell and others.

related. Because of these commonalities between the ethnic minority BaKgalagari group and the dominant BaTswana group, it is easier for BaKgalagari than it is for BaSarwa to learn the Setswana language, to adapt to elements of the mainstream culture and hence to access public services. Compared to the BaSarwa, the BaKgalagari have a much higher representation as employees in the public service, many live in established villages, they have crop fields outside villages and some have relatively well-stocked cattle farms. However, the majority of the BaKgalagari, living in the remote areas of the country, often in coexistence with BaSarwa, have a low socio-economic status and are subjected to cultural non-recognition and ethnic discrimination. The Botswana Tourism website (The Government of; Botswana & Tourism, 2001), articulates the domination of BaKgalagari as follows:

When groups of Tswana peoples later began to move into areas inhabited by Bakgalagadi, many Bakgalagadi were forced to become servants of the dominant Batswana. The Bakgalagadi are still generally accorded inferior social status; some live in marginal existence whether in larger Tswana villages or in smaller remote areas. .... Many are included in the Remote Area Dweller category and receive the same government assistance programmes as the Bushmen (p.4).

BaKwena, also of Bantu origin, represent the oldest BaTswana community established in Botswana. In the 18th/19th century the core group settled in the east of today's Kweneng District. As they expanded their area of influence, they dispossessed the BaKgalagari and BaSarwa subjugating and absorbing them, or displacing them towards the dry and less hospitable Kgalagari region of the Kweneng West, a place where drinking water was scarce outside the rainy season. Like BaKwena, other Tswana groups, such as BaTawana in the north of Botswana and BaNgwaketse in the south-west of Botswana, also exercised cultural subjugation and pressure by demanding service and tax from BaKgalagari and BaSarwa, partly following them into the west of the country where they had fled (Ramsay et al., 1996).

Today BaKwena have moved from the Dithejwane Hills to what is now their tribal capital Molepolole. A few BaKwena have settled in the Kweneng West area, most as

civil servants working as teachers, police officers, nurses or officers in local administration.

Afrikaaner, also referred to as Coloureds, moved in the first half of the 20th century from the far south of Botswana into areas of the Kweneng West District. They are originally Afrikaans speaking, settled mainly in the village of Takatokwane where they inhabit their own ward. Generally, this group of people are seen to be highly skilled in the area of mechanics. Compared to the other ethnic groups in the area, the Coloureds possessed superior equipment. Traditionally they passed technical skills of vehicle and machinery maintenance non-formally from one generation to the next. They tended to implement superior ways of farming, excelling especially in animal production. Their culture has also not been acknowledged in the school curriculum; consequently, only a few of the younger generation of this group still speak their language 'Afrikaans' today. The group has assimilated into the majority group in their locality, the BaKgalagari, adopting their culture and language.

## **2.4 Structure of Villages and Settlements**

The following set of specific terms relates to societal/residential arrangements and their corresponding tribal administration structures in the research area.

Most districts in Botswana, including the Kweneng District, developed from the Tswana paramount chief's residential area, latterly the district capital, expanding into surrounding areas, including smaller villages, settlements and farms. Gradually, areas in the proximity of the capital were predominantly inhabited by BaTswana, in the Kweneng District by the *Tswana* ethnic group BaKwena. Other non-*Tswana* groups moved away from the capital to settle in more remote areas, in the Kweneng District BaSarwa and BaKgalagari settled in the dry Kgalagari area in the west of the Kweneng District.

#### 2.4.1 A District Capital: Tribal Centre with District Headquarters

A district capital accommodating the district headquarters hosts the office and home of the (tribal) paramount chief '*kgosikgolo*' (directly translated 'great chief'). *Kgosikgolo* is the traditional leader of a *morafe*. He holds the highest office in the tribal administration of the district, representing political and cultural interests of his *morafe* at the National House of Chiefs. The *kgosikgolo*, usually a male, inherits the office from his father or he is chosen and installed in reference to patriarchal kinship to the outgoing chief by significant figures in the *morafe*. The Ministry of Local Government, Lands and Housing (MLGLH) employs the Paramount Chief and takes responsibility for the payment of a salary. The office of the Paramount chief is situated in a complex called the '*kgotlakgolo ya morafe*', the tribal village centre or meeting place, which is also an office with judicial powers. '*Kgotla*' translates to meeting place and/or traditional court, '*kgolo*' to big or great. A police unit called the 'Local Police' is within the chief's office; in a large village this unit has several police officers at customary level. The local police unit is administered by the tribal authorities and responsible for dealing with local issues while the central police unit operates nationwide under the directive of the central government. Compared to the Central/National Police force, which operates through the magistrate court, the Local Police, in cooperation with the local *kgotla*, can administer quick and direct punitive measures; they can settle cases faster. A large village like a district capital is divided into several wards, '*dikgotlana*' (singular '*kgotlana*'), directly translated as 'small *kgotla*', each under a headman, referred to as '*kgosana*', junior chief or smaller chief, usually selected by the community on patriarchal kinship lines - often the eldest son of their traditional leader or another family elder. The '*dikgosana*' may be relatives of the village *kgosi*. They work under the office of the paramount chief.

The district capital also hosts the main district office complex composed of offices such as the magistrate's office, the council chambers, the District Land Board Office, Social Worker's Office, Rural Area Dweller offices, the Environmental Health or Hygiene Sanitation office, District Education offices, where the principal education officer may

have office, Labour and Immigration offices. The diagram below illustrates the traditional (BaTswana and BaKgalagari) administrative structure.

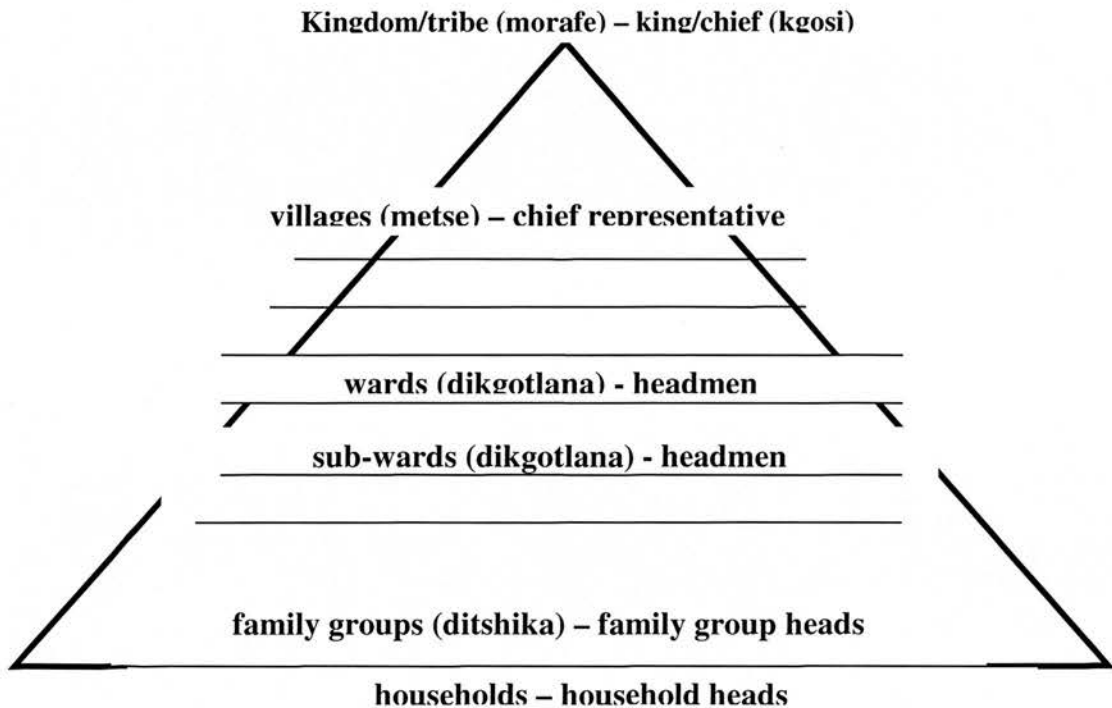


Figure 2-2: Helle-Valle (2002) – Illustration of the structure of traditional political-administration of the BaKgalagari, ( similar to BaTswana's).

The district capital commonly has a central government police station, a prison, a hospital with patient admission facilities and several health centres known as clinics staffed by at least two nurses. Being the district capital and a large village with a high population of civil servants or other people with a regular income, some private and government owned residential houses, offices, business- and commercial buildings have running water systems as well as electricity and telephone facilities. A district capital has a number of state-owned primary schools (year one to seven), junior secondary schools (year 8 to 10) and at least one senior secondary school (year 11 to 12). There are also a number of private schools of all levels in the larger villages. Numerous shopping complexes, called malls, other shops, butcheries and bars are spread throughout the village.



## 2.4.2 Features of smaller villages

Like the district capital, other villages in the district also have tribal leaders based at the *kgotla*. These leaders are officially entitled 'chief representatives', in *Setswana* they are given the title of '*kgosi*', chief. The village chiefs are subject to the directive of the office of the paramount chief in the district capital. In bigger villages the chief representative may have an assistant. Within each village there are several wards with traditional leaders or headmen. Village chiefs, their assistants and headmen receive a small salary.

Once a place is recognised as a village in Botswana, the government provides basic services for the community. The extent of provision of services depends on the political/tribal (ethnic) status of the village, its population and its proximity to the urban and semi-urban centres, especially the capital Gaborone.

Depending on the size of the villages, the government equips them with at least one primary school, a clinic and a *kgotla*. Some larger villages host in addition a secondary school, a police station and a post office. Many small villages still lack basic infrastructure such as a tarred road connection, electricity or telephone services, though the government sponsored provision of these facilities is rapidly improving. Due to a lack of a population that earns a reliable monetary income, neither major retail businesses like supermarkets nor banks are established in most small villages.

The area surrounding a BaTswana or a BaKgalagari village is usually used for farming purposes:

- a) Within a one day walking distance from the village are '*masimo*', areas used for cultivating field crops. In settlements attached to these areas people reside seasonally to work in the fields but move back into the village after ploughing in summer or harvesting in autumn. The buildings in these settlements are often small and shabby as they are only used on temporary basis. Traditionally, most



of the *masimo*-work is done by women. Often on weekends and during school holidays children join their mothers, aunts or grandmothers at *masimo*.

- b) Further away from the villages are grazing areas used for raising cattle called 'cattle post' or '*moraka*'. These places are commonly near a water pump but sometimes just a well or a dam where the animals are watered. A *moraka* usually has only a few huts built at walking distance from the water point.

In these settlements attached to the *moraka* male family members (cattle owners) and/or employed cattle herders (frequently with their families) reside, often permanently, only visiting their villages occasionally. During school holidays, older school boys may accompany the men to help at the *moraka*. Cattle owners who do not work as farmers but as government or company employees engage 'poorly paid and untutored Bakgalagadi and Basarwa' workers to herd their animals at the cattle post (Cooke, 1985; Mazonde, 2002a). In Kweneng West the employers are often BaTswana, sometimes wealthy BaKgalagari, while the herders are usually BaSarwa or BaKgalagari of low social status. Mazonde (2002) stresses the fact that the economic benefit of cattle farming, a product of the land, goes into the pockets of BaTswana cattle barons who live in towns and not to the Kgalagari residents.

Before the arrival of BaTswana in current Botswana territory BaSarwa used the land differently, in a more extensive way. As BaSarwa lived mainly on wild fruits and on hunting, they moved in a seasonal rhythm within a relatively large but defined territory depending on the presence of water, certain game, edible plants or grazing possibilities for domestic animals. Their homes were consequently of temporary nature (camps) but located in permanent seasonal settlement-areas. BaSarwa differ linguistically and culturally from Bantu peoples like BaTswana and BaKgalagari. Unlike the hierarchically organised Bantu leadership system with village councils and chiefs, the BaSarwa society is described as a 'loosely structured band organisation' with 'bilateral inheritance system' (Hitchcock, 2002).

After the arrival of BaTswana the extensive method of land use by BaSarwa was restricted to the dry and inhospitable Kgalagari areas. Many BaSarwa abandoned their traditional way of life and found employment with BaTswana cattle owners or developed a symbiotic coexistence with BaKgalagari farmers.

As BaSarwa lived only seasonally in their settlements, often leaving their temporary grass-huts abandoned for some time, to be taken by the wind and termites, and leaving land fallow, they found themselves denied land rights by BaTswana who had introduced criteria of ownership from the presence of a cattle kraal to a certificate signed by the land board in the district capital.

An example of policy that militates against traditional land use by the BaSarwa is the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) which I mentioned earlier. In an effort to minimise land depletion through overgrazing, the government of Botswana formulated the TGLP in order to 'relieve the grazing pressure in the communal areas in the east' (Cooke, 1985) by spreading ranches across a larger area, consequently leading to spillage of cattle ranches into the Kgalagari sandveld. In this process, land (that was falsely assumed to be empty) across the Kgalagari was zoned and established for commercial leasehold ranches. According to Good (1999) and Hitchcock (2002) the TGLP dispossessed 'a sizeable number' of people, most of them San [BaSarwa]. Hitchcock (2002) reports that some representatives of BaSarwa who occupied some of the land assigned for use under the TGLP attempted in vain to secure land and hunting rights through negotiations with the country's first president Sir Seretse Khama. Due to lack of access to land that is free and available for their independent use, many BaSarwa currently live on freehold farms in Botswana and Namibia, working as farm labourers or, as Hitchcock puts it, 'remaining as long as they are tolerated'.

Due to the developments described above, large areas of farmland in the Kweneng West Sub District are predominately owned by BaTswana farmers. BaTswana and also

BaKgalagari managed, by formal application and free of charge, to acquire plots for residential and business purposes in villages, by so doing securing themselves chances of permanent residency and businesses opportunities. The common business types in villages are tuck shops, small grocery shops and bars.

Most BaSarwa missed the chance of acquiring land, due to their tendency to shift homes seasonally and due to their lack of knowledge on land application procedures and/or “failure to qualify” for cattle ranches, leading to out-right denial of land access by the government. They found themselves being classified as squatters in their temporary homes surrounding villages and farms. Many BaSarwa of different ethnic roots, sometimes together with BaKgalagari of a low economic status, were encouraged or persuaded to leave their homes to be permanently settled in Remote Area Dweller villages.

#### **2.4.3 Villages and Settlements involved in the research**

Having explained the general district administrative structure and the socio-political relationship of various stakeholders within the research district, I present an introduction of all the villages and settlements involved in the research, including Molepolole as the district capital with its administrative and service providing functions.

I will introduce the research villages and settlements starting from Molepolole, following the 60 km tarred road to Letlhakeng in the north-west, from here following first the partly sandy, partly gravelled road 100 km towards the north to Kaudwane, then the partly newly tarred partly sandy road from Letlhakeng 220 km towards the west to Khekhenye. Based on the Botswana National Population and Housing Census of 2001, I will present population figures for villages where ever possible.

The 60 km road towards the north-west which connects Molepolole with the largest village of the Kweneng West Sub District, Letlhakeng, is tarred. Off this road, about 35 km from Molepolole, is the branch to Mantshwabisi, where the nearest school enrolled in the research lies. Two settlements, Matlagatse and Sherinane, are within the Mantshwabisi primary school catchment area and lie directly at the Molepolole-Letlhakeng road.

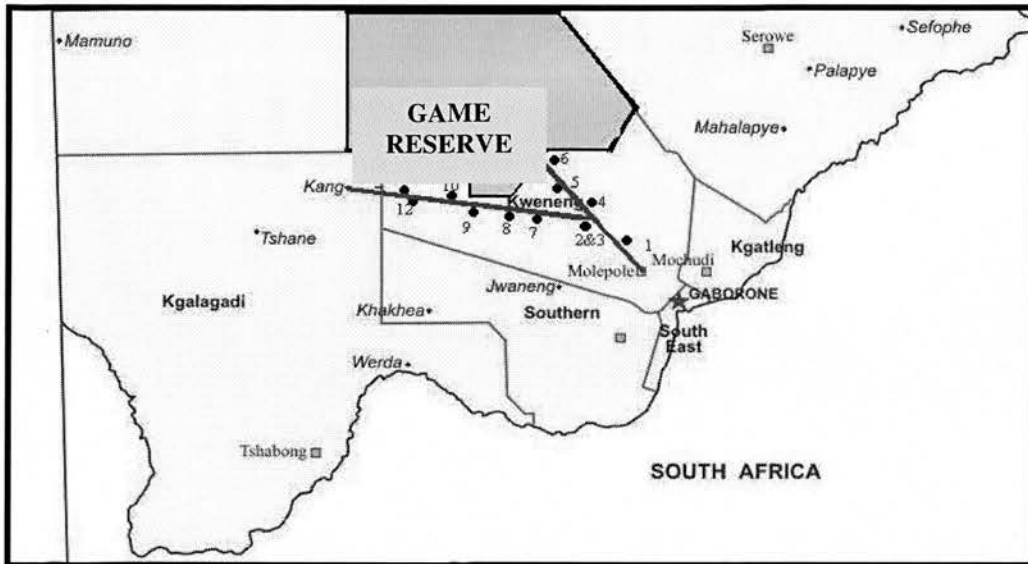


Figure 2-3 The Research villages

1. Mantshwabisi, 2. Letlhakeng, 3. Gothibamang (Letlhakeng), 4. Khudumelapye, 5. Salajwe, 6. Kaudwane, 7. Maboane, 8. Takatokwane, 9. Dutlwe, 10. Tshwaane, 11. Motokwe, 12. Khekhenye.

#### 2.4.3.1 Molepolole, the Kweneng District Capital

An example of a large village accommodating the district headquarters is Molepolole which lies 60 km west of the country's capital Gaborone and has a population of about 55 000 according to the 2001 Population and Housing Census, making it one of the largest villages in Botswana. As the capital of the Kweneng district the village hosts the office and home of the Bakwena paramount chief '*kgosikgolo*'. The office of the paramount chief, which also has judicial powers, is situated in the main district *kgotla* in Molepolole. Like all villages Molepolole is divided into several wards, each under a headman, usually selected by the community also on patriarchal kinship lines. The headmen are subject to directives of the office of the paramount chief.

The village hosts the district council offices and central government department offices including the Education Office of the Ministry of Education and the Social Welfare Office responsible for the supervision of Rural Area Dweller Officers (RADO), who serve settlements in the Kweneng West Sub-District. It has a large police station, a prison, a hospital with patient admission facilities and several health centres known as clinics. Molepolole has approximately 20 government schools from primary level up to senior secondary level and several private primary and secondary schools. It also accommodates a vocational training centre (brigade), a nurse training college and a teacher education college. As a large village with a high population of civil servants and employees of private companies with a regular income Molepolole has attracted numerous service providers including banks and well stocked shops. The infrastructure is relatively well developed, the roads that connect Molepolole with the country's capital Gaborone and three other surrounding villages are tarred, as are a number of roads within the village itself; a frequent bus service provides transport to the capital and other major villages. Numerous areas in Molepolole are supplied with electricity, telephone connection and running water. As Molepolole offers essential services not only for its residents but also for residents of the rest of the Kweneng District, it is necessary for many people, especially from the remote west of the district, to visit the district capital frequently; e.g. all government employees from the Kweneng West Sub-District need to come to Molepolole at least once a month to draw their salaries from the bank.

#### **2.4.3.2 Mantshwabisi Village**

The small village of Mantshwabisi with a population of about 500 lies 40 km west of Molepolole. It is 5km to the northwest off the Molepolole-Letlhakeng tarred road and connected by a gravel road. It has a clinic, a kgotla with a BaKgalagari head man and a primary school with boarding facilities. Mantshwabisi has a small shop and a bar in addition to a few tuck shops and drinking spots, where traditional home-brewed beer is sold. The community in Mantshwabisi is made up of mainly small-scale farmers of

BaKgalagari ethnicity and a few BaSarwa families. Some families identify themselves as BaKwena and speak 'Sejegwana', a derogative expression mostly used by non-Sejegwana speakers, describing a hybrid-language between Shekgalagari and Setswana.

At the time of my field work in 2005 most teachers were accommodated in teacher houses, some in single-roomed houses about 300 meters away from the school compound on the kgotla plot, as there were not enough houses for all teachers on the school premises; some teachers even had to commute daily between Molepolole and Mantshwabisi. In addition, two houses near the pupils' hostels were available for a caretaker and for the hostel matron.

#### **2.4.3.3 Matlagatse and Sherinane Settlements**

At the turn off to Manthwabisi along the Molepolole-Letlhakeng tarred road is a small settlement called Matlagatse. The permanently settled population is predominately of BaKgalagari ethnicity and lives mainly as subsistence farmers. There is no school or clinic in this small village and therefore the primary school children from this village attend school in Mantshwabisi, generally being hosted in the hostels.

About 10 km further towards Letlhakeng is a small BaSarwa settlement right at the Molepolole-Letlhakeng tarred road called Sherinane. Its people were encouraged to leave their settlements around cattle posts and *masimo* areas to settle at that place as 'Remote Area Dwellers' (RADs). However, the people of Sherinane complain of not having received the promised governmental settlement package in 2005 when I carried out the fieldwork, even though they had settled in that village for nearly two decades. In addition, the proposal made by the people of Sherinane during a governmental survey carried out in 1987 was that a primary school and a health post be built in their settlement; the RADP accepted this proposal as articulated on page 71 of their report (Botswana Government, 1998), but there is still no school nor a clinic in this settlement to this day. Therefore, like the children from Matlagatse, the primary school children



from this village attend school in Mantshwabisi, being hosted in the hostels during the school term.

Sherinane has a kgotla chaired by a BaSarwa headman. The Sherinane community has to use the basic service facilities situated at Mantshwabisi, 15km from Sherinane. Individuals in the communities of Sherinane and Matlagatse partly earn their livelihood by collecting firewood, tree stems for roofing traditional houses, reed for thatching and wild berries, which they often display for sale at the tarred road. On either sides of the road in the Matlagatse/Sherinane area are crop fields, cattle farms and goat farms, many of which are owned by BaTswana farmers who offer employment to settlement residents. From a ground water deposit in this area an extraction plant supplies Molepolole with water. A further 15 km towards to the north-west from Serinane along the tarred road is Letlhakeng.

#### **2.4.3.4 Letlhakeng Village**

Letlhakeng is with a population of about 6000 the largest of the villages in which I conducted the research. If associated localities are included, its population is even 9700. Letlhakeng is located 60 km north-west of Molepolole. It has electricity and telephone connections. There is a regular bus service between this village and Molepolole. The village has the last fuel station for travellers towards the Kgalagari in the north and in the west of the district.

This village hosts the headquarters for the Kweneng West Sub-District; it has a complex of offices for services ranging from tribal administration, water supply and regional education administration. Besides the two primary schools, which were both involved in my research, the village also has a junior secondary school. Letlhakeng has a kgotla with a village chief, a chief-assistant and a number of local police officers. The village also accommodates a central government police station and a 'primary clinic', a relatively large health centre with a maternity ward. There are two little shopping centres in



Letlhakeng and a number of small local grocery shops as well as a number of bars spread throughout the village. Except for the post office, which offers a limited banking service, there are no banking facilities in Letlhakeng.

Letlhakeng is predominately inhabited by BaKgalagari who are mostly subsistent farmers, rearing cattle and goats and growing field crops. Most residents of Letlhakeng speak Shekgalagari. Residents of two wards speak '*Sejegwana*'. Most people who speak '*Sejegwana*' actually define themselves as Setswana- or *Sekweni*-speakers (deduced from BaKwena); they try to speak the official language Setswana but fail to suppress their Shekgalagari influence. Some BaSarwa families live in Letlhakeng and in the lands (*masimo*) and cattle posts (*moraka*) surrounding the village. Two of the lands and cattle post areas around this village have developed into small villages and have each been provided with a primary school and a clinic.

In Letlhakeng the road from Molepolole forks in two directions: towards Khutse Game Reserve in the north and towards Khekhenye and Motokwe in the west: The 100km long road stretching to the north is sandy and partly gravelled. This road touches the three research villages Khudumelapye, Salajwe and Kaudwane.

#### **2.4.3.5 Khudumelapye Village**

Khudumelapye has a population of 1800, including associated localities the population is 3200. It is situated 90 km north-west of Molepolole, 30 km from Letlhakeng. Khudumelapye is a small village predominately inhabited by BaKgalagari, who are mostly farmers. The village has one primary school and a small clinic, a beautifully built kgotla building consisting of a simple two-roomed office and a reed-thatched, half-walled shelter surrounded by a wooden fence. There is one grocery shop in Khudumelapye owned by a citizen of Asians ancestry and small tuck shops, bars and drinking spots are spread over the village. As with other villages, a few remote settlements and cattle posts surround Khudumelapye.

#### **2.4.3.6 Matjhibatsela Settlement**

One of the farming settlements within the Khudumelapye primary school catchment area is a *masimo* called Matjhibatsela which is directly on the Letlhakeng – Khudumelapye road.

I talked to only three of the families in the few houses visible from the road; I was told there are more families living in this settlement. The only facility available for the people is a well from which they draw water by a pulley system for drinking and to water their cattle. A shop building stands deserted in Matjibatsela. Travelling 35 km further from Khudumelapye towards the Khutse Game Reserve you get to Salajwe.

#### **2.4.3.7 Salajwe Village**

Salajwe village has a population of 1700 (3200 including associated localities). It lies 125 km from Molepolole, the 65 km road from Letlhakeng is partly sandy, partly gravelled. Salajwe has one primary school and a junior secondary school. The village has a kgotla with a chief representative and local police officers as well as a clinic. There are two grocery shops in Salajwe, one of which is owned by a citizen of Asian ancestry, several tuck shops and two bars are spread throughout the village. The village is predominately inhabited by BaKgalagari, who are mostly farmers, but there is also a large BaSarwa community in the village of Salajwe and in the remote settlements and cattle posts surrounding this village. Because many families live in remote settlements around Salajwe the village primary school has boarding facilities to accommodate their children.

Seeking to interview parents of children living at hostels I visited two small settlements near Salajwe. The families I met at those settlements were of BaSarwa ethnicity working

as cattle and goat herders for BaTswana farmers. They lived under very poor conditions similar to those I had experienced in Magakabe near Takatokwane. Travelling another 35 km further towards the north you get to Kaudwane.

#### **2.4.3.8 Kaudwane Village**

Kaudwane village has a population of 550. It lies 160 km north of Molepolole, 4 km from the gate to the Khutse Game Reserve, which is part of the Central Kgalagari Game Reserve (CKGR). The 100 km road from Letlhakeng to Kaudwane is partly gravelled, partly sandy. Kaudwane is one of the settlements that were created by the government of Botswana to encourage BaSarwa of the Kgalagari to leave their ancestral land in the Central Kgalagari Game Reserve to settle outside the game park. The people were given some allowances to build houses and each family was allocated a small herd of cattle and goats as a basis to begin life as farmers rather than living as hunters and gatherers. A primary school was built in the village as well as a health post. A BaSarwa chief was installed by the BaKwena paramount chief.

Unlike most villages of its size and rural location, Kaudwane has air conditioned tribal administration offices (unfortunately the air condition does not work as Kaudwane is not connected to the mains electricity supply). There is an impressive local administration complex in Kaudwane, including staff housing, but offices of agricultural administrators and others looked deserted when I visited the administration compound.

Taking the fork towards the west from Letlhakeng, the road passes through the research villages Maboane, Takatokwane, Dutlwe, Tshwaane, Khekhenye and Motokwe. In 2005 the first 70 km from Letlhakeng were newly tarred, the remaining 150 km were sandy and partly gravelled. Today 140 km are tarred.

#### **2.4.3.9 Maboane Village**

70km west of Letlhakeng is Maboane. The small village with its population of 800 (900 including associated localities) is predominately inhabited by farming BaKgalagari.

Maboane has recently been connected to the eastern part of the country by a tarred road. Maboane has one primary school, a small clinic and a beautifully built *kgotla* building consisting of a simple two-roomed office and a reed-thatched, half-walled shelter surrounded by a wooden fence. The school, the *kgotla* and the clinic in Maboane have phone connections, but the new telephone line was not very reliable in 2005 when I carried out field work. There is one medium-sized grocery shop and there are small tuck shops and bars spread throughout the village. Remote settlements and cattle posts surround Maboane. For follow-up investigations on the extent and reasons for school drop-out and non-enrolment of children at school, I visited some of these settlements to interview residents.

#### **2.4.3.10 Takatokwane Village**

Takatokwane village has a population of 1500 (2500 including associated localities). It lies 160 km from Molepolole and 100 km from Letlhakeng. In 2005 the last 30 km from Maboane to Takatokwane were gravelled, but are now tarred. Takatokwane has one primary school, a junior secondary school and a vocational training facility. In the village is a *kgotla* with a chief representative and local police officers, a medium sized clinic and a central government police station. There are two grocery shops in Takatokwane, tuck shops and bars are spread throughout the village. The village is predominately inhabited by BaKgalagari who are mostly farmers. One ward is inhabited by an Afrikaans speaking community (Coloureds) another ward by a BaSarwa community. BaSarwa and BaKgalagari families also live in the remote settlements and cattle posts surrounding this village.

#### **2.4.3.11 Dutlwe Village**

Dutlwe village has a population of 1000 (including associated localities 1500). It lies 140 km west of Letlhakeng. In 2005 the first 70 km from Letlhakeng were tarred, the last 70 km from Maboane through Takatokwane to Dutlwe were gravelled. Towards the end of 2006 a tarred road was completed connecting this village with Molepolole (200km away). Electrical and telephone installations were also provided in this village in

2005/2006. Dutlwe is predominantly inhabited by BaKgalagari and some BaSarwa families. The *kgotla* building in Dutlwe is made of a one-roomed office and a reed-thatched, half-walled shelter surrounded by a wooden fence. There is a village chief representative and a local police officer. Like the other villages, Dutlwe has a primary school. The Department of Wildlife occupies a large complex of offices and staff housing in this village. The officers patrol the area to control illegal hunting in the whole western part of Kweneng West District. There are two shops in the village, two bars and some beer spots. Like in other villages, there are several remote settlements around Dutlwe with neither schools nor clinics, often populated by BaSarwa.

A large BaSarwa community used to live in Dutlwe until about five years ago. Most BaSarwa had built homes, but these were not registered by the land board due to lack of certification, hence deemed temporary; consequently, the BaSarwa were officially not considered settled residents of the village. When the government offered RAD packages to families who were willing to move to Tshwaane village, which was at this time still a cattle post, many BaSarwa from Dutlwe and from surrounding settlements accepted the packages and left, settling in Tshwaane. Only a few BaSarwa remained in Dutlwe. The boarding facilities in Dutlwe which had been used to accommodate primary school children from the surrounding settlements were subsequently vacated as the children now attend school in Tshwaane.

#### **2.4.3.12 Tshwaane Village**

Tshwaane Village lies 225km west of Molepolole, on a sandy road 25km west of Dutlwe. It has a population of 350. Tshwaane is inhabited predominantly by BaSarwa and a few BaKgalagari farmers. Tshwaane evolved from a BaKgalagari farm and a hunting area into a village. Most BaSarwa families originate from Dutlwe. To upgrade the cattle post Tshwaane into a new village, the government encouraged non-settled people of Dutlwe and surrounding areas to move to Tshwaane to increase the population. The BaSarwa saw benefit in moving out of Dutlwe because their families

were to receive the RAD package at the new place, a small herd of cattle and a few goats per family as a basis to begin life as farmers rather than living as hunters and gatherers. A primary school and a clinic were built in Tshwaane, a BaKgalagari chief heads a small village *kgotla*. The village has no shop but a few small tuck shops and beer drinking spots.

#### **2.4.3.13 Motokwe Village**

Motokwe village has a population of 1500 (1900 including associated localities). It lies 280 km west of Molepolole. The first 130 km from Molepolole to this village were tarred in 2005; the rest of the road was gravelled, but being upgraded (today 200km are tarred). The village is predominately inhabited by BaKgalagari who are mostly farmers. There is quite a large BaSarwa community in and around the village. The village has a large *kgotla* headed by a BaKgalagari chief who resides in a relatively new chief representative office. At the *kgotla* a few local police officers are employed. The village has a clinic, two grocery shops, small 'tuck shops' and bars spread throughout the village. The village has one primary school with boarding facilities to accommodate children from settlements some as far as 150 km away from Motokwe, e.g. from Magakabe, near Takatokwane village.

#### **2.4.3.14 Magakabe Settlement**

To follow-up investigation on the extent and reasons for school drop-out and non-enrolment of children at school, I visited Magakabe settlement to interview residents whose children attend school in Motokwe. Magakabe has an estimated population of 100. It lies about 30 km south of Takatokwane. It is a very remote settlement, mainly used as *masimo* and for goat rearing. Magakabe has neither a school nor a clinic and has no water supply; the people use donkeys to transport water from a cattle post about 10 km away. The road from Takatokwane to Magakabe is very sandy and inaccessible after heavy rains. Magakabe is officially recognised as Remote Area Dweller settlement. The people I met in this settlement were BaKgalagari originating from Takatokwane village.



#### **2.4.3.15 Khekhenye Village**

Khekhenye with its population of approximately 400 lies 275 km from Molepolole, 15 km south-west of Motokwe. To reach Khekhenye you branch 10 km before Motokwe towards the south, a heavy sand road takes you to the village. It is almost exclusively inhabited by BaSarwa. Like Tshwaane and Kaudwane, Khekhenye village was formed under the RAD settlement policy. The inhabitants of this village were given some allowances to build houses, and each family was allocated a small herd of cattle or goats as a basis to begin life as farmers rather than hunters and gatherers. Many families originate from Motokwe and its outskirts, but some families from other settlements were also persuaded to leave their places to settle in Khekhenye; consequently, inhabitants of Khekhenye speak different clearly distinctive SeSarwa languages. A primary school was built in the village as well as a health post. A chief of BaSarwa ethnicity was installed by the BaKwena paramount chief. Khekhenye has a *kgotla* with only a shade structure and a one-roomed house used as a store-room. There are no shops in the village, a very few tuck shops supply the villagers with basic goods, some beer spots are available.

### **2.5 Cultural Gap between Teachers and Community Members**

The research participants (pupils, parents/villagers and teachers) live in villages of different sizes and different levels of development, ranging from remote, with no provision of facilities by the government, to villages with basic facilities, to larger villages such as the sub-district capital accommodating district headquarters and a range of facilities including technological provisions which turn it into a semi-urban centre.

One source of imbalance that may cause conflict and cultural clashes in the provision of education in the Kweneng West Sub-District is the ethnic, social and economic gap that generally exists between teachers and the community which they serve; while many villagers are illiterate BaKgalagari and BaSarwa, lacking knowledge of the languages and cultures used at school, most teachers are BaTswana, competent and comfortable in



the culture that the school represents; while most villagers are used to living in poverty, with little or no comfort of infrastructure, teachers have a regular income and they are mostly brought up in urban areas or at least underwent teacher training in urban areas; they find it difficult to see themselves deprived of facilities like telephones, electricity or shops. While most villagers never experienced the need to access banks or further education institutions, for teachers this is a necessity. As teachers in Botswana have little influence on their posting, conflict is made likely when a teacher is forced to leave the comfort of her/his village or the town of her/his teacher education to work in a remote village with hardly any services and infrastructure, amidst people of different ethnicity, different culture and language.

A disadvantage especially endured by BaSarwa was and still remains the misinterpretation and negative judgement of their cultural traditional lifestyle by the country's BaTswana politicians and administrators, including teachers, as 'backward' or as 'refusal to participate in development'. Examples of this traditional lifestyle are the loose leadership structure, lack of communication skills in Setswana (national language), engagement in animal tracking and foraging and the rotational/mobile land use to mention a few. The former president of the country, Masire (2006) contends:

Among all groups in Botswana, the Basarwa have been most unwilling to avail themselves of the opportunities for education, health care, and participation in modern economy. This has been a source of frustration to me.... (p.235).

The Report on Remote Area and Community Development (1988) produced by administrators from various social service departments reflects some of the denigrating attitudes of civil servants towards the population classified as RADs, especially those of BaSarwa ethnicity. As an example I quote an officer giving reasons for RADs' poor school attendance and poor academic performance. He states that RADs naturally do not value education and another officer rejecting a proposal to secure land rights for use by RAD communities, comments:

The RADs are being given the opportunity to develop socially so that ultimately they become integrated into the rest of the nation. .... We do not support creating exclusive reserves (p.ix).

### **3 Models for Social Justice and Social Harmony**

In this chapter I elaborate on the breach of social justice in education globally and specifically in Botswana. After describing failed attempts to achieve equity in education in Botswana through assimilating ethnic minority groups into the mainstream Tswana culture and through promoting multicultural approaches of education, I introduce an intercultural approach as a possible solution to advance a move towards social justice for marginalised ethnic groups in the Kweneng West Sub-District.

#### **3.1 Challenges of Social Justice in Education**

From its very origin pedagogy often balanced between being revolutionary in its intention but reactionary in its effect: striving for social justice it frequently laid the foundation for violating social justice. The term ‘pedagogy’, which translates to ‘guidance of boys’, already symbolises this dilemma: it stands for the achievement of offering education for all Greek boys – and for the injustice of offering education for all Greek boys only. Girls were excluded. Formal education has since moved a long way from the Greek ‘guidance of boys’ to become a global project, theoretically “open” for all, males and females, members of all social classes, religions, ethnic groups and nationalities, even though this demand has not yet been put into practise for all. Lynch & Lodge (2002) described the importance of education as playing

...a key role not only in distributing cultural heritage, in excluding as well as including; it is a key player in legitimating and ordering socio-cultural relations. Schools and other educational institutions are recognised arbiters of what constitutes the culturally valuable, not only in terms of what is formally taught, but also in terms of the manner in which it is taught, to whom and where (p.1).

This emphasizes that education is a highly social and political process; it determines who is empowered and who is not; through education a society is moulded and controlled. Globally recognised as a valuable resource, basic education is offered in most countries around the world, often at no financial charge, and it may be compulsory

up to a specified age. The slogan 'education for all' decorates many education policies, but it may entail injustice in that it sometimes stands for "education for all citizens", "education for all officially recognised residents", "education for all boys" or "education for all able children", excluding children of non-residents, disabled children or girls. Inclusion and exclusion in enrolment are overt indicators of injustice, but worldwide more subtle forms of discrimination within groups of enrolled pupils in schools commonly exists e.g. discrimination based on gender, language spoken, religion, ethnicity, social background, (dis)ability.

The breach of social justice in education, and the effort to militate against it, has generated much academic/philosophical and, crucially, political debate globally. Disparities regarding entry into education, retention and success in education have been experienced, observed, identified, described and variously conceptualised. Much of this debate has been dominated by concerns about distributive justice, the perspective on education as a 'good' to be shared more equally or fairly regardless of social status and income. Agreeing with Lynch and Lodge (2002), I see this perspective on equality in education as too narrow and I therefore see the need 'to focus on how schools generate injustice by their lack of accommodation of differences' (Connell 1993 cited in Lynch and Lodge 2002).

Hypothetically, in cases where educational inequality prevails on the basis that individuals are denied access to education due to their lack of financial resources or where whole nations cannot afford to build enough schools and pay teachers, the breach of justice could be described in 'distributive' terms. In these cases 'redistribution' (Rawls, 1971), could be suggested as a solution to this form of injustice. However, matters of social justice prove to be extremely complex as they are often interlaced and multifaceted, defying simple solutions. A complex factor described by Lynch and Lodge is that 'the inequality experienced by the economically marginalised has its generative roots in the politico-economic domain' (p.131). In view of this point, research aimed at alleviating problems of inequality in education tends to go way beyond uncovering and

attempting to remove economic obstacles, by rather digging deeper in an effort to uncover the generative roots of injustice.

Research in different countries has examined educational discrepancies based on differences in race or ethnicity, social class, gender, sexuality, etc. To address the inequalities in education, researchers identify how the above mentioned factors correlate with access to education and academic success. Research in this area faces challenges as individuals cannot be characterised under just one of the aspects of their identity (Griffiths, 1993). This makes it hard to pin-point the identity aspect which forms the basis on which injustice towards an individual manifests. In line with Griffiths (1993), I see advantage in recognising this complexity as it renders pure and rigid division on identity lines impossible, by so doing uniting tranches of humanity through 'shared experiences of exclusion in oppressive societies'. However, researchers in any social field are often left with no choice but to focus on certain aspects of identity in order to target social justice concerns of a specified group.

Researchers in education pose questions of why some groups face academic exclusion or academic disadvantage. In the United Kingdom and the United States ethnicity and race have been, among others, identified as factors correlating with access into education, retention in the system and academic success. In the UK for example, children of African-Caribbean descent are reported as being in an academically disadvantaged position compared to their white peers. In an effort to examine and militate against the generative causes of this apparent status quo, social researchers explore historical, political and socio-economic relationships within and between societies in question. They follow history back to the exploitation of African peoples by Europeans through slave trade, apartheid systems, colonization or general 'western' imperialism and, to a varying degree, they attribute the currently perceived racially-based inequalities prevailing in various societal spheres including education to these domineering Eurocentric discourses (Blair, 2002; Majors, 2002; Mason, 1999; K. Robinson, H. & Diaz, 2006; Wolfendale, 1983).

The impoverishment of Remote Area Dwellers in Botswana, especially BaSarwa, has been attributed to the prevailing political as well as socio-cultural structures and the historical background that characterize the country. The hierarchical ethnic structures that exist in Botswana are interpreted as socially unjust because they create an imbalance in political and cultural power (Good, 1999; Le Roux, 1999; Lebotse, 2002; Mazonde, 2002a). In this system of 'cultural imperialism' (Young, 1990), the politically and culturally dominant ethnic groups create economic opportunities for themselves while pushing ethnic minorities to the lower end of the socio-economic divide. My research population falls under the ethnically subordinate groups in Botswana society; many members of these groups suffer extreme poverty. According to Lynch and Lodge (2002), 'all subordinate groups in society experience non-recognition or mis-recognition.....'(p.131). Citing Phillips (1999), Lynch and Lodge argue that all people with a low economic status are not likely to be awarded much respect, adding the dimension of 'non-recognition' (Baker, 1998; Fraser, 1997; Young, 1990) to their already unjust economic predicament.

In the case of the BaSarwa, an ethnic minorities hardest hit by non-recognition, misrecognition and stigmatisation in Botswana, Mazonde (2002a) argues that empowerment for the BaSarwa on a purely financial basis could not work as long as they remain culturally oppressed. Education has been identified as an area in which cultural domination between groups is entrenched and it is further perpetuated.

Differing working models developed aiming to strive for social justice, for unity and equity in a society. Within the scope of this research I discuss the assimilation model, the multicultural approach and finally the intercultural approach.

### **3.2 Republic of Botswana: Aspiring for Unity through Assimilation**

The Ministry of Education (MoE) in Botswana stresses the importance of commitment to the promotion of the Setswana language and culture as an important unifying force in the nation. Setswana language is cultivated as the national language, the lingua franca, the exclusively taught local language at school.

Cultural and language assimilation in Botswana may have been adapted in good faith, the rationale being the promotion of national harmony by discouraging ethnic separatism which can have extremely damaging consequences. To highlight the commitment of the Botswana government to 'the ideal of a democratic, non-racial society in a unified nation, Scanlon, (2007) cites several sources: Parsons, (1983), Le Roux, (1999), Interviews with Ministry of Education (MoE) personnel and NGO staff. This commitment, she points out, was a consequent of observing a 'negative political situation and apartheid in most of the neighbouring countries,' something Botswana was desperate to avoid by discouraging 'the promotion of education along ethnic or linguistic lines'. A more recent citation is that from Mmegi in which Chebane (2007), states:

Independence saw the creation of "One Botswana, one monolithic nation". It was very simple, he said, Botswana translates to Setswana. One Motswana: all Batswana - to achieve national unity. It negated all other communities in Botswana, from the Kalanga to the 16 San languages (p.1).

According to Scanlon (2007) Botswana saw a uniform national language as instrumental to achieving the goal of 'education for all', advocated and supported by international aid from UNESCO and Western aid agencies. Language was acknowledged as 'one means by which cultural identity is strengthened' (R. o. Botswana, 1997). An example of this arrangement of ethnic assimilation is the case of my research area, the Kweneng West Sub-District, where BaSarwa, BaKgalagari and Afrikaaner are represented by the BaKwena paramount chief and defined politically as



Bakwena, a definition which is meant to foster acculturation and assimilation into Tswanadom.

There is growing evidence that the assimilation model has failed in Botswana as it has been, in my judgement, pursued half-heartedly. No adequate policies have been put in place to enhance assimilation of non-Setswana speaking children into the mainstream culture. Neither pre-school classes, nor special primary school classes have been established with the aim to make non-Setswana speaking children familiar with Setswana. The fact that the methodology for teaching a mother tongue language differs significantly from teaching a foreign language has been ignored. In consequence of this shortfall, many pupils are dismissed from primary school after seven years as illiterate in Setswana and with poor results in other subjects as they had not been given a chance to acquire sufficient competence in Setswana, the still dominant language of instruction. The failure to pursue the assimilation model full-heartedly has not only prevented the advantages aspired by its devotees, it has caused harm by increasing the marginalisation of Botswana's minority cultures. In my view, this failure has increased the perception of the worthlessness of the minority cultures in BaTswana but also, even worse, in non-Tswana, lowering their cultural consciousness.

A clear educational policy for the just and harmonious coexistence of peoples of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds in Botswana does not exist. The assimilation model has failed due to lack of administrative support. But even if it gained full support I do not see it as suitable for Botswana, agreeing with Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, (1994) who define assimilation, the forced physical or psychological transfer of children to another community group, as cultural genocide, hence increasing resistance against cultural loss rather than fostering national unity.

The assimilation model is increasingly challenged by interest groups and individuals advocating for ethnic/cultural equality. Scanlon (2007) lists among the critics of the education system 'academics at the University of Botswana, NGOs, and Community

Based Organisations (CBOs)'. According to her, the government of Botswana is accused of 'institutional and cultural imposition and the submergence of indigenous cultures'. Chebane (2007) expresses this criticism in his speech on the government's failure to consider the culture of the San in education:

The second National Education Commission in 1993 considered the contribution of language to education and recorded a minority view that language is an issue in development. There was a call for a third school language; a local language. Instead, French is being piloted in 15 schools. Research abounds on the desirability of mother-tongue schooling, but in Botswana it remains a non-issue. Policies of assimilation or: "They should be like us," fail to take on board the San (p.1).

Nyati-Ramahobo (2002), a professor for language education at the University of Botswana, quotes the late President Sir Seretse Khama calling for 'all tribes which are non-Tswana speaking [to]... assimilate into Tswana speaking groups for economic benefit, hence denying them the right to define themselves culturally' (p.18). Objecting his view she argues that ethnic identities seem to be stronger than 'national identities' as they work at the very micro level and on an immediate and daily basis. Nyati-Ramahobo defines Botswana as a multilingual, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic state and appeals for recognition of these facts.

The current language policy is not clearly defined, but merely inferred from its application in the educational field. The current policy does not cater for minority languages at all levels of the education system. There is need to recognise that Botswana is a multilingual society. The National Assembly of the Republic of Botswana approved on the 7th of March 1994 'The Revised National Policy on Education' acknowledging the need by stating the aim to 'improve the response of schools to needs of different ethnic groups in the society'. The Report of the First National Commission on Education of Botswana (1993) lists 'geographical location, gender, ethnic origin and disability' as the significant barriers to equity in education in the country.

The report criticises the lack of equity in primary school enrolment reflected by the preliminary results from the 1991 census, with the lowest enrolment of 65% in the sub-district Kweneng West, against a national average of 83%. Indicators of performance in the same report show a similar pattern of imbalance. Scanlon (2007) points out that in spite of criticism, the formulation of education policy in the Revised National Policy on Education (1994) failed to address the language needs of non-Tswana learners, but reinstated the use of a uniform national language in education, taking this as an important tool for national unity. Scanlon cites the First National Commission criticizing this policy particularly for alienating students from their cultural roots and creating not appreciation of their background but rather looking upon it. The critics argue that the education system should nurture young people's pride in their society by encouraging them to participate in their unique social, cultural, artistic, political and economic life.

From a broader perspective, criticising the political aspiration for national unity through assimilation, citing examples from Latin American countries, Marquez (1980) contends:

Let us be frank and admit that the desire to achieve national unity very often hides the self-interest of those at the political centres of affairs – which are the national 'bourgeois' classes – who wish to impose their laws on the regions in order to exploit them more fully (p.67).

Studies in Botswana provide evidence that ethnicity is a factor which should be taken in account in relation to equity. A study for the Commission on performance in the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) poses the question whether the poorer performance of students in areas where minority languages dominate was a general problem (Mautle, 1993). The Commission also establishes in its study differences in performance between urban and rural children and Setswana and non-Setswana speaking children. A paper presented by Mogapi (2004) at the 22nd African Educational Assessment Association (AEAA) Conference in Gaborone exposes the state of affairs regarding Rural Area Dweller (RAD)-children's performance as 'unpalatable', providing data which reveal the existence of substandard teaching and learning conditions within RAD schools to an extent that some learners complete primary schools as illiterates (six out of the twelve schools chosen for my research are RAD schools). Mogapi does state that some of these

schools do as well as English medium schools (which perform generally better than government schools) as long as certain structures and practices are in place.

### **3.3 A Shift from Assimilation towards Multicultural Recognition**

Cultural diversity is increasingly seen as an asset. In a multicultural community the acceptance and the appreciation of cultural diversity is seen by some as a precondition for national unity. Nyati-Ramahobo (2002) detects some government policies which reflect a desire for 'allowing' diversity: The constitution guarantees every citizen fundamental rights and freedoms regardless of race, gender, language, and ethnicity. In 1995 parliament passed a motion to amend Sections 77 to 79 of the constitution, which grant ex-officio membership of the House of Chiefs to the eight Setswana speaking groups only, hereby allowing representatives of minority groups access to this institution. A motion to allow the use of other languages in education, the media, and other social domains as necessary was passed in 1997. Scanlon (2007) reports that Social Studies, Cultural Studies and Moral Education have been introduced into the Botswana primary school curriculum in an effort to address issues relating to culture, citizenship, democracy, human rights and related areas in the formal education context, but she doubts the success of this input as she assumes there is insufficient preparation and training of teachers to effectively teach these subjects in order to achieve aims listed.

The National Assembly of the Republic of Botswana approved on the 7th of March 1994 the Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE), acknowledging the need to improve the response of schools to needs of different ethnic groups in the society. But the RNPE recommendation that, where the local language differs from the national language, provision should be made for the teaching of mother tongue, where possible, was deferred by The National Assembly, stressing the fact that this was contrary to national language policy.

The national policy concerning cultural development is in logical step with aforementioned administrative transfer of power to the chiefs of eight major Tswana tribes by the Protectorate Government. The Ministry of Education (MoE) in Botswana stresses the importance of commitment to promotion of the Setswana language and culture as an important unifying force in the nation. This assimilation model is pursued in the government's attempt to assimilate ethnic minority cultures into Tswanaedom, and by doing so promoting nationhood. Concurrently, and not necessarily in contradiction to the aims of this approach, the assimilation model is rejected, jealously defending Setswana against its replacement by the English language, the country's official language which enjoys, due to its economic value, a higher status (RNPE, 1994). Contrary to the above rejection of promoting linguistic diversity is the stance adopted by Vision 2016 (Botswana-Government, 1997), published in 1998, which states that:

Botswana's wealth of languages and cultural tradition will be recognised, supported and strengthened in the education system. No Motswana will be disadvantaged in the education system as a result of a mother tongue that differs from the country's two official languages [Setswana and English] (p.5).

The fact that such an approach has not been put into practice and that the recommendation of the National Commission on Education (Government-Botswana, 1993) to make arrangements to teach, where there is need, other local languages as a co-curricular activity was deferred, shows that these efforts toward a multicultural approach have also been pursued half-heartedly. I share the doubts expressed by Scanlon (2007), that in view of the 'current ethos in many of the schools it is difficult to envisage... the educational aims of Vision 2016 [some of which are expressed above] being met'. The multiculturalists' model has never been given a chance to prove itself successful in Botswana as the administrative support has never gone beyond lip service. But even if the multiculturalists' model was fully accepted and implemented, I doubt its success in Botswana as it might aim to define cultures of different linguistic levels, a few being literary languages, the others not, hence leading to assimilation through the back-door.

In line with Thompson (2003), I believe that supporting empowerment involves helping people to break free from

...powerful ideologies and other social forces that limit opportunities and maintain the status quo;....and traditional practices which, although often based on good intentions, have the effect of maintaining inequalities and halting progress towards more appropriate forms of practice (p.42).

I conclude: Peoples with non-Tswana background in Botswana are disadvantaged; especially the indigenous BaSarwa and BaKgalagari peoples are marginalised. Neither the attempts to implement the assimilation model nor the multicultural model have proven successful. With this research work I try to contribute towards the definition of a new education policy based on intercultural education for Botswana which strives for social justice for all citizens.

### **3.4 Introducing an Intercultural Approach**

I understand and use 'Social Justice' as defined by Griffiths (2003):

...a dynamic state of affairs that is good for the common interest where that is taken to include both, the good for each and the good for all, in an acknowledgement that one depends on the other. The good depends on mutual recognition and respect and also on a right distribution of benefits and responsibilities. It includes paying attention to individual perspectives at the same time as dealing with issues of discrimination, exclusions and recognition, especially on the grounds of (any or all of) race, gender, sexuality, special needs and social class [I add ethnicity]. It is dynamic in that it is never – could never be – achieved once and for all (p.54).

Based on this understanding I argue that by subjecting ethnic minority learners to 'patterns of interpretation, and communication that are associated with another culture and are alien and/or hostile to one's [their] own' (Fraser, 1997), the school system in Botswana violates social justice in the form of 'cultural domination'. The study evidence presented show indicators of injustice in the form of oppression, visible through violence and 'disrespect' which Fraser defines as 'being routinely maligned, or disparaged in



stereotypic public cultural representations and/or in everyday life interactions', amounting to 'non-recognition'.

Many disadvantaged children in the research area are BaSarwa, the ethnic group ranked culturally lowest by members of other ethnic groups, especially by the dominant Tswana group represented by most civil servants. Compounding the low cultural status all boarding children, mostly BaSarwa, belong to a low economic class; their parents are remote area dwellers, representing a culture extremely different from the middle class based schools' culture. These facts add aspects of discrimination based on social class to dimensions of 'ethnic misrecognition'.

In summary, on the basis of Griffith's definition of 'social justice' above, I see the treatment of the learners in Kweneng West schools and in boarding facilities undermining various aspects of social justice. This poses a complex and multiple impact of injustice on the victims, in this respect turning them into what Fraser (1997) calls a 'bivalent collective'. This is part of the complexity that makes any work for the 'dynamic affair' called social justice to seem like 'mission impossible'. Agreeing with Griffith (1998), in my research venture, I still choose to uphold 'an optimism that it is worth struggling for justice, knowledge and understanding, while accepting that there will be no final victory' (p305).

My intervention for social justice aims to contribute towards the villagers', especially the pupils' improved self assessment and, with focus on self respect, to empower them by encouraging voice to develop. Hoping to contribute towards emancipation of the marginalised, I agree with (Thompson, 2003) that:

Emancipatory practice involves helping to set people free from: discriminatory attitudes, values, actions and cultural assumptions; structures of inequality and oppression, both with organizations and in the social order broadly; the barriers of bad faith and alienation that stand in the way of empowerment and self-direction... (p.42).



Hoping to break these 'barriers of bad faith and alienation...' in the education of ethnic minority learners, my intervention is a simultaneous action: encouraging learners and the community to take an active role in education, and encouraging teachers to appreciate that we are all different and that this difference is a source to draw on. In doing this I hope to make teachers hear their pupils' and the villagers' voices, to offer their pupils and the villagers respect and adequate resources, to join forces in a cultural transformation, a shift in the values, language, relationships and structures of schooling, a shift towards an intercultural approach.

This study is influenced by the theory of Banks (1994) and in particular the idea of Hernandez (1999), which is critical of the reification of cultures in multiculturalism and rather promotes the use of the term 'interculturalism' advocating for diversity on the basis that syncretism of cultures is a permanent reality, cultural differences are dynamic and cultural exchange is the preferred curriculum mode. It includes dimensions such as understanding how knowledge is influenced by beliefs, reducing prejudice and creating supportive social structures for all pupils. Following an approach which characterizes post-modernity as "incredulity toward meta-narratives" (Lyotard, 1984), interculturalism seeks for greater connection with broader audiences. It seeks for accessibility; it organizes cultural life around a variety of more local and sub-cultural ideologies, myths and stories. Constant cultural change becomes the status quo.

Intercultural education has the aim to develop skills of cross-cultural understanding. It aims to develop cultural identity and self-esteem, raise resistance towards uncritical adoption of popular cultures (Mason, 1999), consequently preserving cultural sovereignty (Whitecliffe, 1999) to be transformed into political and economic power. I agree with Whitecliffe's 'notion of parallel paths' which perceives local knowledge (I add 'and certified knowledge') as of complementary rather than of greater value (Iutzi-Michell, 1998). The particular approach in this research is to facilitate intercultural education which liberates learners from external dominance and, more importantly, from

internalized acceptance of being culturally subordinate (Richardson, 1996). The intention of the ICAE intervention is to promote cultural interchange.

## **4 Introducing Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE)**

In this chapter I first report on some suggestions and initiatives previously made to try to improve the learning situation of children in remote area schools in Botswana. Thereafter I present my introduction of Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE) in an effort to contribute towards reducing the educational deficiencies in the Kweneng West Sub-district of Botswana as identified by previous studies and further confirmed by my current research. After discussing concepts that have influenced the development of the idea of Intercultural Education like the 'Whole Schooling' concept (Peterson, 2003), the idea of 'Reflective Stance' to culture expressed by Hannerz (2001), the concept of 'Collaborative Participation in Cultural and Artistic Evolvment' (Kasten (1998) 'Intercultural Collaboration' (Baumann, 1996; Holliday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2004; Scott, 1998) and, drawing from the ideas of Shafer (1980) and a concept from an UNESCO (2005) report on Curriculum Differentiation putting emphasis on the role of teachers in the implementation of inclusive and relevant education, I explain my decision for the 'Particularist Model' (Merelman, 1995) to combine Intercultural Education with the Arts. I go on to explain my view of ICAE as a 'Post-Modern Approach', as a method of 'Curriculum Differentiation', with potential to contribute to a move towards the achievement of social justice. At the end of the chapter I list requirements for practising ICAE.

### **4.1 Previous Initiatives – UNICEF/UB Report**

In 2001/2002 I was part of a team of consultants from the University of Botswana (UB), working on behalf of UNICEF and Botswana's Ministry of Education, conducting a study in the Kweneng West Sub-district entitled 'Improving Instructional Setting for Children of Remote Area Dwellers' (RAD). The description 'Remote Area Dwellers' (RADs) in Botswana applies to 'people living permanently outside established villages'. According to the Norwegian Agency for International Development cooperation, NORAD (1995), RAD communities are commonly 'descendants of ethnic minority

groups living under poor conditions in remote areas'. The consultancy was carried out in the very sub-district where my present research is based; its focus was on the education of children of BaKgalagari and BaSarwa ethnic minority communities. The UB team reports that these minority groups have been socio-economically marginalized by the more powerful BaTswana majority groups.

In their report, the consultancy team from the University of Botswana (2002) criticises the poor enrolment pattern in rural areas of the country. This trend is seen to defeat Botswana's policy of universal access to ten years basic education and to pose threats to jeopardise Botswana's aspiration to adhere to the aims and objectives of the declaration of the World Conference on 'Basic Education for All' (EFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 and renewed in Dakar, Senegal in 2000. On this international forum, Botswana, like other countries, made the commitment to ensure that all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality by the year 2015.

The UB report of 2002 generally bemoans perpetual disparities which affect access and quality in the provision of education in Botswana in favour of the urban areas over the remote and rural areas of the country. Citing the National Education Policy of 1977 (R. o. Botswana, 1997), the team reports that children in rural areas had lacked opportunities to learn and that the quality of education they were offered was inferior to that of children in urban areas. Further the team cites the RNPE (G. o. Botswana, 1994) which identified unequal access and lack of equity as a problem that has persisted for over 17 years, the period in which the first education policy was implemented (ibid.:4).

In view of the disparities in the system, the Revised National Policy on Education (1994) stresses the need for an equitable access to basic educational opportunities by all Batswana irrespective of economic standing, age, gender, religion and ethnicity (Recommendation 1). As the Botswana education policy sets equity as a goal, it

demands that clear and measurable education equity indicators be developed for use in routine monitoring and reporting of education progress (Recommendation 1, RNPE, 1994). The UB team sees these recommendations as highlighting the necessity for conditions to be created to alleviate the inequalities that exist in education enrolment and participation, a problem felt most by the RAD population.

The UB research team of 2002 does acknowledge Botswana's political interest of improving livelihood of people who live in remote areas, an issue which has drawn national and international attention, particularly relating to events surrounding resettling BaSarwa away from the Central Kgalagadi Game Reserve to newly created villages outside the reserve.

#### **4.1.1 The Remote Area Dweller Programme (RADP)**

The Botswana government and other partners in education, such as the United Nations, have identified formal education as a tool for RAD emancipation. On those grounds, the Ministry of Local Government and Lands runs a programme called 'Remote Area Dweller Programme' (RADP) to ensure, among other aspirations, that school access of the children of the remote area dwelling communities is increased. In this programme, needy children are identified and enrolled for supply of food, toiletries, clothing and school uniform so that they are nourished for their survival and groomed to ensure that they look presentable in school, to restore their dignity by alleviating extreme burdens of poverty which display the obvious economic gap between groups of citizens, diminishing chances for poverty-stricken children to enrol, remain and perform well in school. In evaluating the RADP programme, Kann, Mapolelo *et al.* (1990), identified cultural non-recognition in the school system as one of the problems hindering effectiveness of the education in the RAD schools.

Consequently, the government marked the curriculum as an area that needed improvement to consider the cultures of the ethnic minority learners. The UB report

cites government intension as expressed in the document 'Evaluation of the RAD Programme', Botswana Government, (1994):

The curriculum will be made flexible enough to take into account cultural and linguistic diversities of the different ethnic groups and teacher training will sensitize teachers to cultural differences (p.78).

#### **4.1.2 Vision 2016**

The UB report 2002 also acknowledges Botswana's aspiration to open up policy and practice, particularly education towards recognition and respect for the nation's cultural multiplicity; quoting the governmental vision document it states:

Vision 2016 recognizes the crucial role of history in the quest for cultural preservation and in the celebration of Botswana's diverse cultural traditions (pp.60-61). .....Moreover, Vision 2016 especially underscores the need for greater tolerance, which is one of those crucial skills that can be suitably transmitted through history and history teaching. ....This would also address the concern by the [National Commission on Education] NCE (1993) for educational equality, through both policy and its practice. In this regard, it is necessary for education generally and culture-specific subjects in particular to reflect Botswana's multiculturalism (p.10).

However, the inclusive and culturally sensitive intensions expressed in governmental policies fail to reach implementation in the education system and the marginalisation of ethnic minority learners persists in the country. The national assessment instruments in Primary schools in Botswana, the Standard Four National Attainment Test (SFNAT) and the Primary School Leavers' Examination (PSLE), are mainly in form of multiple choice items and the content is largely based on urban rather than rural experience. As an example of this I include a copy of the 2005 SFNAT for the subject English (appendix A). The test contains a number of items on objects or facts outside the experience of rural children, let alone those who live in remote villages and settlements. The items include 'going to the cinema', 'children liking fruit but hating fruit juice' and 'a father drives the family to a museum on Sunday' (most pupils in the research area have never been to a cinema or a museum, most of their fathers do not have cars and they see both,

fruits and their juices as treats). Aiming to facilitate good academic performance, teachers put emphasis on preparing their pupils for answering such examination questions, using the corresponding official teaching material (textbooks and worksheets). The use of the mentioned examples and context irrelevant teaching material leaves children from rural areas excluded and alienated. Against this background, the UB research of 2002, sponsored by UNICEF, was concerned with the improvement of instructional setting for children of rural area dwellers.

#### **4.1.3 Diverse Non-Governmental Initiatives**

Some efforts and contributions towards alleviation of the problems of the education of the RADs and non-RAD San minorities across the region have come from the non-governmental sector. The examples cited in the UB consultancy report (2002) are: the 'first school for Basarwa children which was opened by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1967 in D'Kar' (Ghanzi District) and the 'UNICEF supported pre-school education project in the Kgalagadi District, which is run by the Tirisanyo Catholic Commission' and the 'Bokamoso project whose major thrust is training of pre-school teachers for the RAD communities as well as projects that target RAD out-of-school youth and children'.

Hays (2002), bemoans lack of governmental support for the Bokamoso project. She cites successful educational services for the San ethnic minorities in neighbouring Republic of South Africa and Namibia, e.g. the Schmidtdrift project in South Africa, in which a former army camp has been changed into a government funded school for the San. The Schmidtdrift School has mother tongue 'bridging classes' in which translators and San teaching aides work alongside Afrikaans speaking teachers. The hostel employees speak the language of the children. The author further cites the examples of successful and relevant education projects in Namibia, including the non-governmental education projects, like the Gqaina Primary School in the Omaheke region. The school was



founded by farmers to help the children of farm labourers gain education. Academic success in this school is attributed to the professionally qualified teachers and the local hostel staff who speak the language of the children. Also in Namibia is the 'Village Schools Project' in the Tsumkwe District East. This project was founded by a non-governmental organisation. It consists of five multi-level schools (up to standard four) situated in Ju/'hoan (San ethnic group) villages with a support- and teacher training centre in another village. The government of Namibia has taken over payment of teacher salaries.

The non-governmental projects mentioned above are reported to have yielded positive results through practical activity in collaboration with local communities, therefore ensuring cultural sensitivity in the provision of education for children whose languages and cultures differ from the country's mainstream population. Mazonde (2002a) reports of an initiative by the UNICEF in 1999 in Botswana, in which a culture sensitive curriculum was being designed for the education of the San children using their mother tongue and addressing the entire cultural issues. However, in 2005, when I conducted fieldwork in Kweneng West, neither the teachers nor the community members interviewed knew anything of the curriculum designed by the UNICEF. For the Kweneng West region at this stage, a curriculum aspiring for mother tongue instruction may be utopian considering the fact that there are neither written education materials available in the local languages nor are there enough trained teachers who speak the languages.

#### **4.1.4 Museum-in-the-Box Project**

The UB consultancy team (2002) mentions a much smaller educational project named 'Museum-in-the-Box', trial-tested in one of the schools involved in their research in the Kweneng West area, which is also involved in my current research. The project was designed by the Botswana National Museum and Art Gallery in 1989 and was, on behalf

of UNICEF, introduced in Kweneng West in 1998 as a trial based in Motokwe Primary School. With the intention to capture RAD learners' interest in school and curb the school drop out rate, the Museum-in-the-Box project was supposed to teach the RAD children arts and crafts of their culture in school during weekends. Another reason for the programme cited in the UB report was, according to the teacher participants, 'that RAD children seem to be gifted in hand crafts so much, that even if they do not succeed in school academically, they can learn skills that can reward them in future'. Children were taught by local cultural practitioners, recruited on voluntary basis. Skills taught included: cutting and carving (wood work), leather work, egg shell decorating and bead making and decorating.

The intention was to display the artefacts in a 'box' which was to be transported to other parts of the country, where children with a different cultural background could learn about the art and culture of the RAD communities. In exchange, children from the other area of the country would also send their artefacts in a 'box' back to the RAD schools.

When interviewed by one of the UB researchers, the children, who had participated in the Museum-in-the-Box project, expressed gratitude towards the project as they enjoyed being taught how to utilize natural resources. The children wished the project could be reinstated, they believed they could even make a living out of crafts work they produced and that the project could increase their chances for employment in places like the museum. The children declared themselves prepared to engage in the project during weekends and school holidays even if the teachers were not present. The children expressed the wish to be allowed to keep items they had produced after the items had been returned from the areas of exhibition. The children interviewed asked to be provided with protective clothing and to be given a chance to exchange their experiences with their counterparts from the other regions e.g. through the use of video recording.

Some of the aims of the Museum-in-the-Box project in Kweneng West provoked controversy: It was, for instance, seen to negatively target the RAD learners, aiming to

select them for future [sub-ordinate] roles, which could be interpreted as 'tracking'. Additionally, according to the UB report, teachers bemoaned lack of consultation and adequate support and monitoring of the project by the initiators. They had expected to be consulted not only by UNICEF-officials and officers from the National Museum and Art Gallery, but also education authorities like the Regional Education Officer before the project was implemented. The teachers felt burdened by the demand to work on the project during weekends. The community members were not paid for their contribution in the project and complained that the organisers/initiators of the project failed to offer support and monitoring. Consequently, the project failed to succeed in Motokwe.

## **4.2 Discussion of Theoretical Concepts relating to the UB/UNICEF Report**

I will now highlight theoretical concepts relating to the UNICEF/UB report of 2002 and I cite further sources to conclude this section before I present the suggestion that the UB team made for improvement of the education of the ethnic minority learners in the Kweneng West district.

### **4.2.1 The Phenomenon of Resistant Culture**

In line with Au (1981) and Cummins (1989), the UB report of 2002 highlights the importance of acknowledging and respecting the learners' cultural background in order for the learners to be given a chance of appreciating education and to learn successfully. The report especially cites the claim of Cummins (1989) that in a society, where some ethnic group is dominant over other groups,

.....members of the minority group tend to develop feelings of ambivalence and insecurity about the value of their culture and language due to negative experiences during interaction with the dominant group. The low status of the language and culture within the society become reflected in the policies adopted with the educational system (p.10).

The situation described above is equated with the relationship between the mainstream and dominant culture in Botswana and the subordinate cultures of the BaSarwa and

BaKgalagari in the research area. The UB consultancy team draws some association between the poor school attendance, the poor performance and low enrolment of children in the RAD areas with resistance towards cultural hegemony in the school system. Citing Gordon (1992), the UB research team argues that

.....culturally marginalized groups may fail to adequately identify with the institution of the school and much of what it represents. This leads to what has been aptly referred to as “resistant culture”. In this situation, when the learning process comes to be associated with that which is “not me”, that which is alien to me, the learning task engagement is interfered with (p.42).

This phenomenon of learners’ ‘resistance’ shown through rejection of the target culture and/or the own culture due to discord in the learning situation is expressed by Schumann (1976), albeit making reference to difficulties encountered by second language learners, he claims that factors of ‘social distance’ and ‘psychological distance’ which he also describes as ‘degree of solidarity’ play a role in the acquisition of a second language. Schumann makes the assumption that the greater the social distance between the learner and speakers of the target language, the lower the chances of learning. And the ‘psychological distance’ refers to ‘how individuals feel in the process of learning the second language’. Schumann states that the learners experience ‘language shock’, which leads to getting ‘confused, embarrassed or lost’ and that they also experience ‘culture shock’ when their usual ‘problem-solving and coping mechanisms’ do not apply in the new situation. Schumann (1979) claims that this would lead to

... disorientation, stress, fear, and anxiety. The resultant mental state can produce a whole syndrome of rejection which diverts attention and energy from second language learning. The learner, in attempting to find cause for his disorientation, may reject himself, the people of the host country, the organisation for which he is working and even his own culture. (p.267).

#### **4.2.2 The Phenomenon of Deficit Thinking**

Valencia (1997) introduces the concept of ‘deficit thinking’ in education systems. Referring to the situation in the USA, she recognises a disadvantaging vicious cycle in

which educators victimise children of colour and those from low-income families; the process is described as 'description-explanation-prediction-prescription'. In this mode, the 'deficits, deficiencies, limitations and short-comings' in the children are described and then explained by factors such as limited intelligence and/or dysfunctional families; educators then 'predict the perpetuation and accumulation' of the deficits and finally prescribe remedial interventions. This point was cited and elaborated by Skrla & Scheurich (2004) who, also writing in the context of the United States of America, argue that through deficit thinking children of low-income families and children of colour are...

...tracked into low-level classes, identified for special education, segregated based on their home languages, subjected to more or harsher disciplinary actions; pushed out the system and labelled "drop-outs,"..... immersed in negative "subtractive" school climates,... and sorted out into a plethora of "remedial", "compensatory", or "special" programs (p.110).

Operating this way, according to Skrla & Scheurich, the educators place 'the "problems" with/in the children, their families, their neighbourhoods, their genetics, their social capital, and so forth, rather than with the education system and its deficit assumptions' (p.110).

### **4.2.3 Child-Friendly School**

Child-Friendly School framework (CFS) was developed by Schaeffer (1999). It defines a child friendly school as rights-based, promoting and monitoring rights of all children, including children who are traditionally excluded. The school should be parent-friendly, creating opportunities for parents to play a role in the teaching and learning process by forging links with the community to illicit their active participation in school activities. A child-friendly school maintains a healthy school environment that provides general health and wellness as well as safety for the learners. Such a school is free of violence and protects children against any possible discomfort or pressures such as being bullied by peers (and teachers). A child-friendly school operates on a learner-centred curriculum, considers learning needs of children with different learning backgrounds and

abilities, the teachers are incisive and responsive to learners. Such a school uses feedback from assessment appropriately; it systematically monitors progress and undertakes adjustments as and when necessary.

### **4.3 Concluding Remarks: A Materialist Perspective versus Cultural and Social Recognition**

From a materialist perspective, education could be viewed as a social good. Lynch and Lodge (2002) citing Connell (1993) view education as a resource that enables individuals personally and professionally. They argue that the inability of certain groups of people or individuals to access and draw the full benefits of education like others is a major equity problem in distributive terms. Research and national records have repeatedly reflected the ineffective provision of education for the ethnic minority communities in the area of my research. Governmental action of providing food, toiletries and school uniform as a way of tackling the education problems in the remote areas of the country has proved insufficient. In my view, the problems faced by ethnic minority learners in Botswana pertain to the ethnically or culturally based symptoms of social injustice; therefore, they demand more sophisticated solutions than mere distribution of material goods. Evidently, there is need, in the words of Lynch and Lodge (2002), to 'explore the dynamics of control and power in education, and by so doing to identify the contexts for challenging in-egalitarian practices and structures' (p.35). An observation made by Corson (1998a) also applies to Botswana, namely that control and power in the education of aborigine minorities is often one-sided as policy is mainly formulated at the urban centres, far away from the ethnic minority communities who are amongst the clientele using the service. Presently the RAD communities have no say on policies relating to their children's education.

### **4.4 UNICEF/UB Report: Recommendations**

As a possible solution to the problems faced by learners in Kweneng West schools, the UB report presents the idea of Cummins (1989), who identified four key areas which



educators could adjust in order to achieve ‘intercultural orientation’ in schools, i.e. to create an inclusive and relevant learning environment for the ethnic minority learners:

**Cultural/Linguistic Incorporation:** This means taking an ‘additive approach’ by ensuring that the learners’ language and culture are part of the school programme instead of a ‘subtractive approach’ of replacing these with the ‘official/formal’ foreign language and culture which the school represents.

**Community Participation:** This requires school’s collaborative partnership with the community in the education of the ethnic minority learners, as opposed to an exclusionary situation, where the community is not involved in their children’s education.

**Pedagogy:** On this point Cummins advocates for what he calls ‘reciprocal interaction-oriented instruction’ or what is commonly known as learner-centred approach, instead of the teacher-centred method, which he terms ‘transmission-oriented instruction’. Cummins states that the reciprocal interaction orientation is more effective because it encourages learners to set their own goals and to collaborate with the teacher and other students to achieve those goals.

**Assessment:** The favourable type of learner assessment is what Cummins calls ‘advocacy oriented’, instead of ‘legitimization-oriented’ assessment. While the latter seeks to locate the cause of the learner’s academic difficulties within the learner, consequently labelling ethnic minority pupils who perform poorly as ‘learning disabled’ or ‘language impaired’, the former type of assessment acknowledges that the low performance of ethnic minority learners could be rooted in the social and educational context.

Based on the findings, the UB consultancy team suggested that teachers be specifically trained in school management, in taking an ‘additive approach in cultural/linguistic



incorporation', in teaching Setswana and English as second languages, in implementing learner-centred approaches, in applying advocacy oriented assessment for instructional improvement. The team also advocates for teacher training in the area of culture sensitivity, focussing on collaborative partnership with the community. The UB team proposes Cummins framework as well as other conditions for school improvement based on the UNICEF framework of Child-Friendly Schools.

## **4.5 The Concept of Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE)**

The findings of the University of Botswana team in 2002 are in line with my preliminary observations: High pupil drop-out rates and poor academic performance are symptoms commonly prevailing in the Kweneng West schools. In my view, the cause of these deficiencies could lie in the ethnocentric curriculum and the 'one size fits all' teaching methodology practiced throughout the country. Research in education has revealed the negative effects of curriculum rigidity and non-differentiated teaching methods in school in general. I especially see extreme disadvantages of these practices to learners who, for some reason, fall outside the mainstream; in our case, the differing pupils' language/culture outside the school's language/culture.

### **4.5.1 Community Involvement**

Hays (2002), argues that solutions on how to educate children must belong to the community concerned. Along this line, I see great weaknesses in projects such as the 'museum-in-the-box' as described above. The programme was designed by people outside the communities concerned and was not implemented in proper (adequate) consultation and equal partnership with any of the stakeholders. Solutions, therefore, ought to be sought at local level with involvement of and contribution by the community. Hays (2002), identifies three key prerequisites for the success of ethnic minority education projects, namely:

Community involvement and control: This aspect of involvement in, and ultimate control over own children's education, she argues, is not only essential to the success of indigenous peoples, but a right guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26, 3).

A School environment that recognizes and respects diverse forms of knowledge: I agree with Hays that failure to respect children's home culture in education could contribute to the breakdown of communities.

Equal dialogue: Citing Aikman (1997), Hays advocates for an open-ended dialogue between all stakeholders in the provision of education for the ethnic minority pupils; the process must be without 'privileged epistemological or cultural positions'. This kind of dialogue could, according to Hays, facilitate real recognition of the unique problems faced by the client community [in her context the San] in schools.

I agree with Hays, who in the context of the San, argues that failure to initiate and maintain such dialogue would pose the risk for the education system to continue to 'contribute to the marginalization of San peoples within the nations where they live' (p.84). I apply Hay's argument to the provision of education for any minority group.

## **4.6 Merging Intercultural Education with Arts Education**

Peterson (2003) generally evaluates today's education as commonly rigid, a rigidity reflected through schools that a) practice narrow teaching, b) use standardised curriculum and assessment focussed on 'knowing the facts', c) segregate the learners according to academic ability, social class, race, culture, language and d) practise autocratic rule.

We say we live in a democracy and most schools say their purpose is to create democratic citizens. However, most schools operate with a top-down, autocratic rule that makes a mockery of these claims (p.2).

According to him education practitioners fail to 'build school as a diverse community where people support one another and critically question interests that divide people' (p.2). Even though I cannot follow his generalisation, I find the type of school he characterises matching the school system in Botswana.

In my view combining Intercultural Education with Arts Education lends itself as a possible solution for improving education in the research area. Interculturalism advocates for diversity on the basis that syncretism of cultures is a permanent reality, cultural differences are dynamic and cultural exchange is the preferred curriculum mode. Hence, 'Intercultural Arts Education' does not advocate a one-way solution with the aim to adapt pupils to the mainstream culture or to offer a stage to satisfy desire to practise own cultural activities; in line with recommendations made by the UB consultants under the auspices of UNICEF in 2002, syncretism of cultures as envisaged in ICAE demands sensitisation of the stakeholders, the community and the school employees; it demands community participation, cultural and linguistic incorporation. It aims to help teachers to learn new skills and techniques for use in the classroom; it helps teachers to develop professional relationships with a wide variety of other skilled adults of other ethnic groups; it deepens the teachers' understanding of pupils in different social and cultural situations, encourages learner centred approaches and advocacy oriented assessment.

#### **4.6.1 The 'Whole Schooling' Concept**

ICAE as I planned to implement was based on the belief I share with Peterson (2003) that professionals in the field of education as well as the communities they serve are both 'the makers of our social world'. Like him I believe collaboration 'under a joined vision of a caring, inclusive, democratic community has power' and that 'creativity, which will allow us to use our resources and energy, holds great promise' (p2).

The 'Whole Schooling Consortium' team, to which Peterson belongs, identified these principles as fundamental to the building of effective schools:

1. Empowering citizens for democracy
2. Including all
3. Authentic, multilevel instruction
4. Building community
5. Supporting learning
6. Partnering with parents and the community

Looking at these principles, I realize that the research intervention 'ICAE' operated along similar lines as those outlined in the idea of 'Whole Schooling'. The invaluable contribution that community members could make in their local school is widely recognised in education as asserted in Whole School Consortium (2004).

I stress the critical importance of developing meaningful partnerships with parents and connecting the school to community resources. Whole Schooling recognizes the need to develop multiple strategies to reach out to parents, bringing them into the life of the school and the classroom in meaningful ways, listening to their input regarding their children, developing collaborative instructional and support strategies.

#### **4.6.2 The Reflective Stance**

Capturing ideas and recommendations mentioned above and interweaving them with my own thoughts based on personal and professional experience, I introduce the concept of Intercultural Arts Education which advocates for intercultural collaboration so that different groups of people have a chance to understand each other through a day-to-day analysis of their interaction. It is in line with the idea of Hannerz (2001), who believes that 'culture must not be a mystifying concept, but must point towards tools to think with.' Therefore, ICAE brings stakeholders together to work collaboratively, reflect upon their interaction, analyzing their experience of working with 'the other'. My hope is to create a situation Hannerz describes as a 'Reflective Stance':

Everyday cultural analysis would involve a sense of how we know what we know about other people: a sense of our sources of ignorance and misunderstandings as well as of knowledge. It may even suggest that differences between people are not absolute or eternal (p69-70).

Considering the dynamic and complex nature of culture as described by Hannerz, Intercultural Arts Education provides chances for mutual understanding between the pupils, teachers and the community members calling them to engage in collaborative work. As he succinctly puts it, culture is 'a matter of doing as well as being, it is fluid rather than frozen'. And such everyday cultural analysis might also tell us that culture may cut across social distinctions, so as to create at least some areas of sharing, and some possibility of mutual intelligibility (Holliday et al., 2004).

However, within the scope of the research, with limited time and resources, I cannot claim to have implemented principles of Whole Schooling as broad as listed, but provided ground for some areas of sharing allowing for reflective stance as cited above.

#### **4.6.3 Intercultural Collaboration as Envisaged through ICAE**

Most teachers in the research area do not share ethnic identity with their pupils. I intend to engage cultural practitioners of different ethnic backgrounds from the community in project teaching, hoping to utilize their skills for teaching arts, but basically to instil below-the-surface-cultural aspects into arts education (Cassanova, 1987; Kagan, 1983). The involvement of villagers in educational activities could help break the association between 'native cultural knowledge and backwardness', a thought expressed by Kasten (1998) on the education of the Itelmen, the original inhabitants of Kamchatka peninsula in Russia. The intervention aims at calling stakeholders into collaborative participation in the cultural and artistic evolution.

Intercultural collaboration as envisaged in the ICAE intervention bares the chance of reducing mutual stereotyping between the different cultural groups involved in education, in our case the teachers, who are predominantly from the dominant ethnic groups and the ethnic minority learners and their parents. Collaborative work as promoted by ICAE demands cultural exchange through real contact between people of differing cultures, thereby decreasing what Baumann (1996) refers to as 'ethnic

reductionism' or what Holliday & Hyde (2004) term 'exoticising cultures' by placing emphasis on selected items or practices associated with particular ethnic groups. Intercultural Arts Education as envisaged in this project advocates for moving away from the usual connoting of indigenous knowledge as inferior or backward compared to the 'modern' or 'scientific' understanding of the world (Scott, 1998). Like Scott, in handling the affairs of a given community, I believe in the superiority of 'insider' practical knowledge acquired through immediate experience made in the local environment over the knowledge of a visitor, regardless of their level of education. Intercultural Arts Education is based on flexibility in tapping knowledge sources, sharing Scott's belief that including indigenous knowledge serves to deepen and enrich the available knowledge base for humanity in general. In this view, ICAE becomes one of the approaches in the category of 'emancipatory narratives' which in the description of Swartz (1992)

... reflect the multiple and collective origins of knowledge, and correct sanitized, repressive, and monovocal textbook portrayals of historically marginalized cultures and groups (p.342).

#### **4.6.4 The Importance of Teachers in Implementing ICAE**

According to UNICEF (2005), if well guided and supported, teachers could be instrumental in offering a more appropriate and relevant education to their learners:

Many children find learning irrelevant and boring, and again, teachers are in a key position to include useful skills and knowledge in their teaching that truly reflect children's realities...It is indeed a challenge for teachers to ensure that the work that is being done in the classroom is relevant to the children and their contexts, that it respects their world and responds to their particular needs (p27).

Shafer (1980) in her contribution to the discussion on 'Diversity and Unity in Education' places an even greater emphasis on the role of teachers in balancing the scales of power between the local community (political and social) and national levels of government as she contends,



....one may hypothesise that the distribution of power between local and national levels of government and between laymen and educators should be influenced by teachers with a relatively high status. To warrant the respect of citizens and hence hold high status teachers have to be well prepared for their profession (p.152).

The risks posed by an education that disregards the particular needs of children is highlighted in the UNESCO report 'Changing Teaching Practices, using curriculum differentiation to respond to students' diversity' (2005) on curriculum differentiation:

Many children attend school at the primary level but soon drop out or are 'pushed out' due to uninteresting teaching and methodology, and/or an assessment system that labels them as poor achievers (p.5).

#### **4.6.5 The Particularist Model of Intercultural Education**

This research adopts the particularist model of intercultural education (Merelmann, 1995), which confines minority group perspectives to specific (arts- and other) courses and which has a chance of administrative support. It allows for temporary grouping along language lines considering the 'role of talk in learning' which helps learners to grasp new ideas, understand concepts and clarify thoughts (Corden, 2002b). Placing intercultural education in a particular subject area is especially appropriate at the introductory stage – future steps must be taken to expand the concept including all subjects and finally influencing through infiltrating the school administrative structures.

#### **4.6.6 The Interdisciplinary Subject 'Arts Education'**

The Creative and Performing Art (CaPA) syllabus in Botswana incorporates the following subjects: Art and Craft, Music, Design and Technology and Physical Education (see extract of CAPA syllabus, appendix B). Unfortunately, these subjects appear in the syllabus in an entirely non-integrated manner, the chance of developing a new interdisciplinary subject has been missed and teachers in the field are swamped with the task to integrate these sub-subjects on their own. I intend to encourage and to support teachers in project teaching, truly integrating the four CaPA sub-subjects Art and Craft,



Music and Physical Education (traditional dance and games), extending the integration towards the subjects Drama and Literary Arts to introduce 'Arts Education'.

In line with principles of arts education, this intervention promotes critical and innovative thinking as modes of learning and it seeks to foster the accommodation of multiple solutions rather than demanding one 'correct' answer based on what I call 'certified knowledge'. Through this research I have, using the words of Griffiths (2000), 'a vision of a web of collective action, in which everyone has a say, but not by all speaking in the same language ...' (p.393). ICAE seeks to utilise the power of art as described by Albers (1999):

Art offers us something seldom seen in other content areas of the curriculum: an immediate emotional and intellectual response to other perspectives. Unlike the texts in many other content areas which take an abundance of time to read, with art, we stop, we respond, we reflect - often in a matter of a few moments. Art, then, takes on a powerful and pivotal position in the curriculum (p.10).

Along these lines, the study initiates the invitation of local arts through cultural practitioners, regardless of their level of formal education. It allows villagers to impart their knowledge, including tacit knowledge, and to share their narratives on a formal educational platform, a stage normally reserved for holders of 'certified knowledge'. This approach demands a broadening of the conservative concept of Arts Education in schools; it demands the removal of boundaries between subjects, leading to an interdisciplinary concept including art, music, drama, dance, literary and oral arts without closing the brackets, but keeping them open for the inclusion of any discipline suitable to round up a project in a holistic sense.

Presently, in primary schools in Botswana arts education is to a large extent concerned with understanding and valuing modernist art and artists. Amongst teachers concerned with multicultural art education the misconception persists that they need to teach about some exotic culture different from their own, including the prevailing community

culture, but 'teaching about' turns out to be less than intercultural education from a contemporary perspective.

#### **4.6.7 The Postmodernist Approach of Arts Education**

Against rather narrowly defined art education of the nature described above, (Muri, 1999) adopts a postmodernist view to art education, arguing for the promotion of multicultural or "cross-cultural" pedagogy in the art classroom by including 'folk art' and 'outsider art' in the curriculum. Muri cites Lippard (1990) as well as Efland, Freedman, and Stuhr (1996) who believe that the postmodern view of culture is rooted in the present. The writer further argues,

Postmodernism in art represents the art of less empowered groups including women, minorities, ... In postmodernist art, the distinctions between fine art, folk art, and popular art are dissolved (p38).

The intervention ICAE draws from the belief of Efland, Freedman, and Stuhr (1996), as cited by Muri (1999), that the postmodernist approach to art education does not only nurture diversity but also bears a chance to ignite social/political change. In Muri's words

Multiculturalism is a postmodernist concern in art because content is not taught that will enable individuals to acquire knowledge of art for art's sake, but instead, instruction takes place in an attempt to change social relationships. ... The importance of including folk art and outsider art in the curriculum espouses post modern pedagogy; it is described as a process of addressing, through the curriculum, the inclusion of teachers, students, staff and community to practice action for the benefit of disenfranchised groups (p.38 -39).

Another post-modern critique articulated by Hicks *et al.* (1990) is that students are empowered not by awareness of a singular cultural heritage, but by sensitivity to cultural diversity as represented in particular communities. I elaborate: students are empowered by being involved in the process of cultural evolvement whereby the arts, inevitably based on cultural context, act as the medium. Another visualisation of the postmodernist' approach is made by Lather (1994), who cites Deleuze & Guattari (1992)

presenting a metaphor in which the modernist model is a tree and postmodern knowledge is a rhizome. While a tree has a limited number of paths (branches), Lather describes rhizomes as '...systems with underground stems and aerial roots, whose fruits are tubers and bulbs' (p.45). Quoting Ulmer (1989), Lather explains further: To function rhizomically is to act via relay, circuit, multiple openings, as "'crabgrass' in the lawn of academic preconceptions". There is no trunk, no emergence from a single root.....Citing Lercecle (1990) Lather continues,

... but rather "arbitrary branching off and temporary frontiers" that can only be mapped but not blue printed (p.45).

This metaphor lends itself for use to describe the approach I took in the ICAE intervention; the learning/teaching method especially echoes the rhizomic characteristic (as Lather accurately says) of staying "on the ground", immanent, with appeal not to transcendental values but to "their content of 'possibilities', liberty or creativity". Just like rhizomes described by Lather, the implementation of ICAE, demands flexibility to 'follow anarchistic growth' rather than to 'survey the smooth unfolding of an orderly structure' (p.45). ICAE lessons are not likely to run in predictable patterns prescribed by a syllabus, as they depend on the personalities of the people involved, their art and level of interchange, the activities they choose to engage in, the available materials and all other prevailing circumstances including the weather at the time of activity.

#### **4.6.8 A Prospective View: Community Engagement from Making Cultural Contributions in Lessons towards Engagement in the Management of School.**

The (British) National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) - Report (1998) states that

.... there is too often a gap between the community and the school that exists to serve them. .... practical strategies must be found to connect the cultures of schools with the wider community, and to bridge the gap. A starting point is to recognise and validate the cultural experience of

minority groups and to engage them in the cultural life of the school (p.25).

I underline the NACCCE's acknowledgement that this is a starting point. This is also the starting point for my intervention which, unfortunately due to lack of time, does not go much further. The process envisaged and ignited through my intervention however aims to outgrow the restriction to 'engagement in cultural life of the school' leading to 'engagement in running the school'.

The NACCCE-Report (1998) states further:

Creative and cultural education can provide powerful and direct ways of achieving this, and of raising the self-esteem and motivation of young people who, for cultural and other reasons, feel marginalised and alienated (p.32).

These thoughts articulated in the NACCCE-Report are concurrent with my goal to contribute towards the achievement of social justice in the field of education in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana. They lead to the conclusion that, as a starting point, arts education, reformed and introduced on a post-modern base, may suit this approach.

#### **4.6.9 A Prospective View: ICAE Embedded in Action Research**

Neperud and Krug (1995) contend that Art Education 'should be open to emerging forms of communication circulating in the day-to-day lives of people in the lived culture' (p.166). Art curricular practices, they assert, cannot begin and end with predetermined means and ends. The authors underline dialogic inquiry and action research as means to prevent education from reverting to 'monologic didacticism' and suggest that inquiry in art education starts with 'people who make things in their own community and from the details of their everyday lived experiences and personal environment' (p.166). Stressing this point Muri (1999) contends that including local art in the school curriculum and/or inviting community members to present and discuss their process of creating art could instil a sense of pride in the community. Expanding the arts beyond the visual, the writer argues:

Elders might feel honoured to tell stories about paintings and art objects that describe the community when they were children. Postmodern art includes art from social interactions and elements of society that sponsor these interactions (p.39).

## **Summary**

To place ICAE into the context of learning and teaching models, I associate it with the concept of 'curriculum differentiation', a teaching and learning mode described in an internet-based document entitled 'Changing Teaching Practices, using curriculum differentiation to respond to students' diversity' (UNESCO, 2004). Curriculum differentiation is seen as a way to diversify methods of content delivery, to stimulate more ways of learner response and to broaden assessment methods in aspiration of the goal of provision of education for all. Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE) as defined for this project seeks to contribute towards a more open and learner centred teaching and learning and an advocacy oriented assessment. It advocates for curriculum differentiation in order to cater for an ethnically diverse learner population. Based in the arts, it promotes, in fact relies upon, community participation, calling for cultural and linguistic incorporation based on unique/individual contributions from all stakeholders. ICAE put into practice, I believe, bears the chance to move us a step towards social justice for the marginalised ethnic minority communities in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana.

## **5 Methodology**

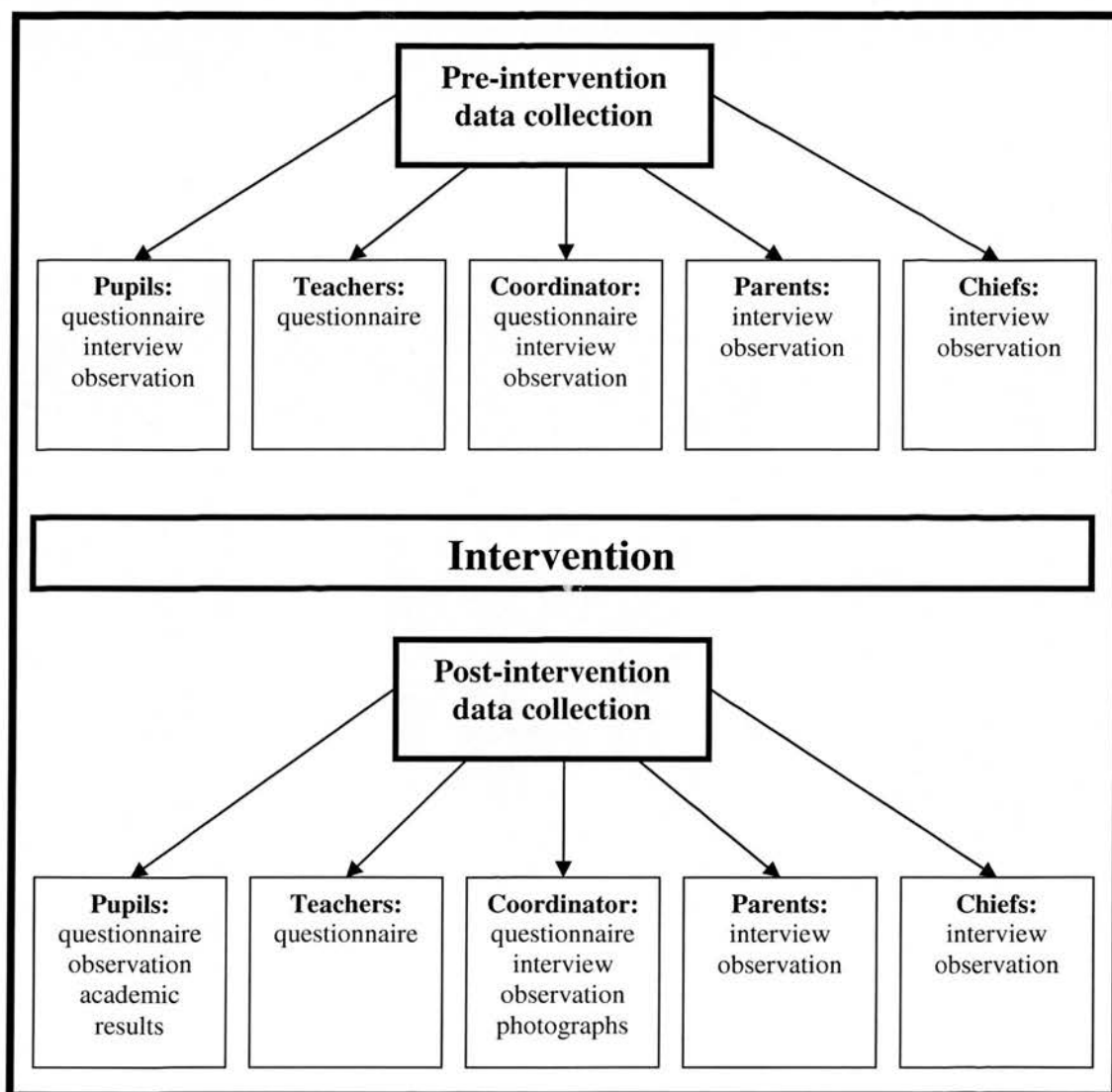
In the following chapter I first explain the development from a positivist research design to a twin track solution based on qualitative and quantitative data. Using the vector theory I illustrate the dynamic nature of the process I employ in my investigation. After elaborating on the role teachers play being positioned between cultures, I follow a feminist approach (Griffiths, 1995) to define my own positionality (Tetreault, 1993) in the research concerning how I relate towards diverse stakeholders and towards various administrative authorities. Influenced by the constructivist notion of knowledge, I elaborate on the use of triangulation (Miles & Huberman, 1994) for data collection. Thereafter I explain the use of bricolage (Denzin and Lincoln 1998) to target polyvocality in constructing a postmodernist approach to art education (Hambeln; 1991). As contributors to the bricolage employed in this research, I list elements of emancipatory approaches (Robson, 2002), intervention, action research (Cohen and Manion; 1994), multiple case study approach (Yin; 2003) and collaborative action research. Finally I recall the steps of data collection and analysis employed to find results for each singularity in the multiple case study with the aim to achieve an analytic generalisation.

### **5.1 Preliminary Research Design: the Use of Positivist Techniques**

Disturbed by the fact that learners in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana performed academically poorly in schools, I took up the challenge of investigating causes of this situation with the aim of finding possible solutions for improvement. I found it necessary to carry out a research in the concerned area.

The initial stages of my research involved making concrete plans of how to approach the actual fieldwork. The outcome of this initial planning stage was a positivist research design: It was structured, employing traditional research tools such as conducting a

quasi-experiment with pre-intervention and post-intervention data collection, with an 'experimental' group and a 'control' group, a mini-survey through questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and systematic observations guided by observation sheets. The diagram illustrates this initial structure.



The structure was useful for me as a way of visualising and clarifying my research ideas. The research plan provided guidance for making time and costs estimates for the fieldwork and it was helpful for explaining the research idea to various stakeholders, e.g. gatekeepers, while applying for a research permit and negotiating access in schools,



sponsors, while requesting funds for the research and the educational research board, while seeking academic approval.

## **5.2 Research Situation Calls for a Predominantly Qualitative Approach**

However, even as I engaged in tutorial discussions at the proposal writing stage, I realised that the research was unlikely to tidily unfold within the pattern of my 'master plan': too much information was to be collected in sensitive areas, demanding cautious approaches, deciphering hidden messages, decoding subtle hints. The reading of some information demanded qualitative analysis; it did not fit into quantified categories. In addition, some variables were beyond my control, withdrawn from any comparisons. In spite of my attempts to utilise research methodology strategies that would 'ensure' a rigorous investigation, numerous uncontrollable variables would obscure the reliability and validity of my findings.

I decided on a twin track solution, characterised by a controlled input on my side with controlled data collection through questionnaires, guided observations and semi-structured interviews, in combination with giving stakeholders stimuli to freely react, thereafter analysing the content-quality of the reactions in respect of open and hidden messages and/or any actions taken. This allowed me to interact with the stakeholders, to invite them to actively contribute in the research process, to learn through observing the interpersonal dynamics of the people, to see them as partners rather than as subjects in this project. This process also reflects the overall aim of ICAE which is based on a collaborative methodology. With this realisation my vocabulary shifted from 'quasi-experiment' to 'educational intervention', from 'control group' to 'comparator group'; and more importantly, I no longer expected to find one answer to my research questions, but several answers, each based on its individual context. I no longer expected to find one static and permanent solution to the problem of my research but rather a solution which is dynamic, in form of a process, demanding permanent review.

### **5.2.1 The Influence of Diverse Factors on the Research Procedures**

In order to trust the data, I needed to understand the sources and circumstances from which I derived them. This brought up philosophical questions relating to human and natural existence – ontology, definition and validity of knowledge – epistemology and the question of morality in all human practices - research ethics. Reviewing literature I become aware of the dynamic and complex nature of humanness. Individuality, kinship, neighbourhood, societal affiliation, religion, ethnicity, age, race, health status, gender, social and economic class, nationality and many others, are all facets of what embodies being human. The perception of these forms of existence is not steady, not clearly definable and separable.

Consequently, the environment in which we exist is complex and dynamic. Factors determining the founding and ongoing maintenance of institutions are sometimes additive, sometimes complementary, and sometimes contradictory in their purpose. Factors act as numerous vectors with differing, often undetectable directions and forces, combining to create the perceivable resulting force. In the example of a school, factors like parents, other community members, pupils, teachers, teacher trainers and ministry officials\policy makers - but also factors as diverse as infrastructure and climate - are to be considered. Other factors have their input, but may remain undetected, functioning as interfering variables in the data analysis. The factors mentioned are again far from being simple and unique, as each is made up of vectors representing a complex group of individuals.

The direction of the vectors depends greatly on the interests of the factor from which they derive, and the vectors' force greatly depends on the power of that very source. Consequently, a highly influential vector in the school system comes from the government which supplies the schools with the necessary funding. The government formulates the education policy based on the ruling groups' ideology. In the case where the community feels it is genuinely represented by the government, vectors may add up

to double strength with only minor losses through friction to the benefit of the institution, hopefully (but not necessarily) to the benefit of the pupils. In the case where the community does not feel fully represented by the government, e.g. culturally, the vectors' forces may have opposing directions, neutralising each other to the disadvantage of the institution.

I see one of my tasks as a researcher in exploring the forces and directions of the stakeholders' vectors that contribute to the resulting force. Through personal experience and professional involvement I have developed an ideal of a resulting force. Comparing the actual resulting force with my ideal resulting force activates a process of influencing the stake-holders' vectors in an effort to support my ideal resulting force; simultaneously and constantly it challenges me to rethink and reformulate my ideal resulting force, to adjust it to the stakeholders' ideal resulting force.

I initiate changes in a web, hardly measurable and never complete, as it is dynamic; it is outdated the day I conclude. My solution remains reduction and simplification: looking for reasonably stable vectors, for predictable results of interferences, focussing on a limited number of stakeholders at the time, generalising. The dynamic and circular process of evaluating and shaping vectors, redefining and targeting my ideal resulting force and re-evaluating vectors makes me ask: What is the purpose of school? Is the school 'on task'? Is this task morally/ethically right? Where the interest of the local community differs from that of the central government, to which side does school owe loyalty? What are the forces that drive the institution to be loyal to the one interest? Or the other? What is the possible or ideal balance of influence that these two interests should have on school? How can the right kind of balance be struck? In other words, how realistic are the aspirations of my research?

Further questions arise regarding the autonomy and competency of teachers as service providers and as collaborators in the project. What roles do teachers play in the binary relationship 'central government versus community'? Are they agents of the government

simply carrying out orders? Are they social workers with the local community's interest at heart? How much freedom and ability do the teachers have to determine the contents of and/or to choose points of emphasis in the curriculum? How much can I realistically expect them to collaborate in a project that aspires to shift and adapt curriculum content and methods of delivery to match the needs of the community rather than only follow governmental expectations?

### **5.3 The Guiding Epistemological Directions**

I apply a feminist approach to knowledge, a view that promotes reflexivity. Reflexivity serves to uncover the researcher's agenda and her view of the world in relation to the information she hopes to collect, the methods she chooses to use for collection, analysis and synthesis of that information to generate knowledge that may inform practice and even facilitate positive change in the researched discipline. In her paper "Making a Difference: feminism, post-modernism and the methodology of educational research" Griffiths (1995) identifies emphasis on subjectivity as a common thread that runs through the different strands of feminism. According to her, some feminists express this aspect as 'experience' and others as 'subjectivity' or 'positionality'.

None of the feminist epistemologies assume or argue that the perspective of individual human beings can be superseded by the 'objective' 'view from nowhere' or by a 'God's eye view'. All of them assume that the self or subjectivity is a starting point (p.223).

Also following postmodernist thought, I acknowledge the kinetic and complex nature of the human condition/life in general, as rendering the discovery of one true path, one true answer impossible in the research process. Griffiths (1995) describes this feature of postmodernism elegantly:

The key ideas include the insistence of the situatedness of human thought, the impossibility of discovering a neutral transcendental reason or an autonomous self-legislating self. Knowledge so far from being the 'mirror of nature' is particular to the discourse(s) in which it is produced. The self, so far from being an empirical, knowable or perceivable object, is a subjectivity produced by the discourse in which it finds and positions itself. This subjectivity is in a stage of change, as it positions and

repositions itself in terms of (at least) gender, race, and class, and is changed and reacts to the changing discourse (p.226).

On these general platforms I based my research. Borrowing the analogy of research as a venture into an unknown terrain, I embarked on a journey in pursuit of knowledge; my 'hunch' as expressed in the suppositions that the cultural gap between home and school is a major cause of the school problems, provided the vague direction of the journey. My general research aim, "a move for change towards a socially just education for ethnic minority learners in the Kweneng West district", was the vehicle. The research questions were my Global Positioning System (GPS).

I agree with Tetreault (1993) who contends that 'knowledge is valid when it comes from acknowledgement of the knower's specific position in any context'. It follows therefore, that I have to unveil my position in relation to the information I have collected and analysed in order to draw conclusions upon, and I have to reveal the methodology I employed in this venture. I am defined through being rooted and through acting in shifting spaces and times. These factors irrefutably influence the way I know and understand the world. Using Tetreault's terminology I take the factors as coordinates of my 'positionality'.

The GPS could only be useful if I fed it with the relevant coordinates and important landmarks of the terrain. I was aware of my dependency on the assistance of the 'locals' right from the onset. The questions were 'how will I know whether to trust my GPS? How will I know when I have enough and relevant basic information to embark on this journey? Is my vehicle appropriate for the journey?' I believe there is no absolute guarantee for the acquisition of relevant, reliable and valid knowledge or solutions, but I saw the development of a rigorous research proposal, support offered through research seminars, guidance through literature and tutorials as a reasonable start. At the point of departure things looked positive: I had secured the visa in form of a research permit, I had external support through the mother institution, the Nottingham Trent University. In case of emergency, I knew there was 'diplomatic' support through my supervisors.

Because I was born and raised in the Kweneng West region, I am equipped with some skills in local languages and I am familiar with cultures of the region. Sponsorship through my employer (University of Botswana) was secured to cover most expenses. Through my research assistant a reliable companion and co-pilot was available, and my vehicle was sufficiently fuelled with personal as well as professional enthusiasm.

My strategies on the journey included listening to as many voices as possible, asking people of different 'positionalities' for directions to gain different perspectives using and comparing maps drawn by different people. I heeded the advice of those experienced in plotting information into the GPS, authors of research literature, my fellow researchers and supervisors. I did not disregard my own intuition. My journeying goals included:

- a) Be ready to land at unexpected destinations, or even never to find the destination,
- b) cross-check your judgements and conclusions about the destinations against those of all stakeholders as fellow travellers,
- c) be open to accommodate multiple truths,
- d) be aware of being under the ethical obligation to avoid injuries to all travellers, especially the supportive stakeholders, by navigating with utmost care considering pitfalls and dangers on the way, (this was much easier said than done as I will explain in my report on ethical challenges),
- e) beware of your wishes and your expectations influenced by your own positionality; do not let them over-taint your perception of the true destination.

Griffiths (2003) argues that

Our action for justice springs from the person we are both by our personal, passionate engagement with other people and our position in the large-scale social structures framing our lives (p.113).

Two factors offered me a rare researcher's positioning opportunity:

Firstly, even though I am a Motswana by citizenship, ethnically I do not consider myself a MoTswana, but a MoKgalagari. As a MoKgalagari I often perceived the treatment on



the part of BaTswana as misrecognition in the form of ethnically based discrimination and disrespect. Having my roots in the ethnic minority communities in the Kweneng West sub-district helped me to recognise and consider the individual personalities (not concealed by ethnic positioning), of the community members, to understand their social (ethnic) self-identification and to communicate with them effectively. It helped me to empathise with the ethnically based social in-justice they experience.

Secondly, my professional positioning in Botswana's mainstream Tswana culture, training teachers predominantly from Tswana tribes for culturally Tswana schools allowed me some objectification. It increased my awareness of institutional effects the school has on the teachers: Their attitudes, their self-positioning and their positioning of ethnic minority groups they come in professional contact with.

My research methodology was influenced by the constructivist notion that knowledge is constructed; that it is embodied in multiple realities. This demands triangulation to include the verification process into data collection (Miles and Hubermann, 1994), using multiple sources, methods and investigators. Triangulation of sources was achieved by engaging stakeholders of different ages (from standard four pupils to villagers in pension age), of different ethnicity and of different educational levels (pupils, teachers with degrees, illiterate villagers). My research assistant (and husband), a former teacher trainer in Educational Psychology and of German origin, provided additional views in observation and interpretation from a different angle. Triangulation of methods was achieved by using questionnaires, interviews, observations and analysis of documents.

This research took a postmodernist approach to art education; it is in line with Hamblen (1991) who asserts that

postmodernity embodies the value of social pluralism, ethnic diversity, tradition and contextualism. Local knowledge and the input of non-experts are valued, in contrast to the rationalism and technological expertise valued by the modernist (p.47).



The design of this study was tailor-made to handle the theoretical and physical complexities encountered in the research situation; the methodology used leans on the idea of 'bricolage'. In describing situations which may require the use of bricolage, Denzin and Lincoln (1998) use Berry's analogy of 'being situated between stories' – that is, between the 'old' and the 'new' story. My research was geared to create a unique story, by deconstructing the very structures of the 'old story', 'the modernist project with its grand narratives' (Denzin and Lincoln). These narratives being, among others, a) formalist art which concentrates on getting the 'principle of design' right, based on separated, hierarchically ordered forms of the arts from fine to folk arts, b) an education system based on assimilation of cultures for national unity and reified hierarchical ethnic identities, c) an autocratic education system that practices vertical power distribution based on professional position as well as age. In line with Denzin and Lincoln (1998), the mission in this research was to seek polyvocality; not one story but many tales, dramas...., to inform our sense of life ways, to extend our understanding of the Other, to provide us with material for what Marcus & Fischer (1986) label "cultural critique" (p.425). As Levi-Strauss put it, the mission requires working with, 'makeshift equipment, spare parts and assemblage' – this describes the flexible and multi-methods used in this research – and that is the nature of bricolage: symbolically a 'piece of art'.

Introducing a new method of teaching and observing its effects includes elements of an intervention. Within this 'bricolage' there were also elements of action research as it included direct participation in the research by others likely to be involved, coupled with an intention to initiate change (Robson, 2002) towards emancipation. Reflection on the processes and consequences was built in half way through the study with the aim to plan further action repeating a cycle. The aspirations of the research echo the purposes of action research as listed by Cohen and Manion (1994) which they categorise as follows:

- remedy a problem diagnosed in a specific situation or improving a given set of circumstances;

- be a means of in-service training, thereby equipping teachers with new skills and methods, sharpening their analytical powers and heightening their self-awareness;
- be a means of injecting additional or innovatory approaches to teaching and learning into an ongoing system which normally inhibits innovation and change;
- be a means of improving the normally poor communication between the practicing teacher and the academic researcher, and of remedying the failure of traditional research to give clear prescriptions;
- although lacking the rigour of true scientific research, be a means of providing a preferable alternative to the more subjective, impressionistic approach to problem-solving in the classroom (p.189)

The purposes of action research listed above correspond with some of the contributions the research project aspired to make. However, the project diverted from action research as collaboration and participation of participants envisaged did not necessarily include having power over decisions about aspects of the design and data collection, as I anticipated difficulties in creating coherent reflections of a shared nature with teachers and villagers. As a teacher educator I viewed myself as an insider in the school system. I was personally involved as an investigator, a collaborator and a facilitator. Diverting from the principles of action research, I was aware that some participants, teachers in the field and local practitioners, might view me as an outsider.

Within this bricolage some aspects of the 'multiple case study approach' were employed. The multiple-case is made up of twelve singularities with contexts in twelve standard four primary school classes in eleven different villages, addressing a corporate concern shared by the Kweneng West community. According to Yin (2003), case study method is most appropriate to use when

....a how or why question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control (p.9).

The choice to use case study as a research method is dependent upon the type of research questions and the controllability of the research situation. In our case, the classes had fundamental characteristics in common, but many variables differed beyond my recognition and influence which forbade their aggregation. The findings from these case studies, on the side of the participants in form of narrative events, were developed into a collective analysis, an analytic generalisation. The stakeholders were, with the conceded limitations, involved in this problem-solving process. Corden (2002a) and King & Lonnquist (1994) define such an approach as collaborative action research.

To enhance collaboration teachers and villagers needed to be supported in order to be familiarised with the principles and implementation of ICAE, data interpretation and reflection. A three-step intervention was developed: first, guiding teachers through a workshop and cultural practitioners through personal interaction towards other classroom perspectives, whereby cultural diversity was rather viewed as an asset than a burden; second, offering administrative and technical support to facilitate the research process, introducing ICAE in the classroom; third, offering support for individual evaluation of the research intervention and elaboration of an individual view-point. Saez & Carretero (1996) define a similar, but more structured approach including a three-cycle tutorial spiral over a three years period as 'classroom case studies based on (collaborative) action research'. The intervention added elements of 'temporary change' to the case study. Depending on the research findings implementation might be considered and envisaged in future.

I used the quantitative data collected by means of questionnaires for descriptive statistics. The qualitative data collected by means of interviews and observations were the basis for my analysis, supported by the quantitative data. I compared the pre-intervention results with the post-intervention results and the data collected at comparator schools with data collected at intervention schools. I analysed results for the different ethnic groups and the results for the individual villages separately in order to allow comparisons. My emphasis lay on the analysis in the frame of a multiple case

study, using qualitative data in addition to the quantitative data to analyse the effect my intervention might have had at each school and community and ethnic group independently, possibly uncovering results which allow an analytic generalisation.

My analysis draws on the idea of critical realism, a concept of discovery to identify structures that restrict human action. It examines people's reports about what they value and what oppresses them and helps them to reconstruct structures to free themselves from oppressive influences (Corson 1998). Reports were collected from teachers, representing the dominant culture in the Kweneng West Sub-District, and from community members, pupils, parents and chiefs, representing marginalized cultures in the area.

## **6 Planned Methodological Procedures**

In this section I present the methodological design and the research tools as planned for use prior to the actual field-work. By presenting the planned methodological procedures I hope to provide a source of reference for comparison between planned and actual research activities. When presenting data in chapters seven to nine, I will elaborate on adjustments to the plan and even new strategies that I found necessary to employ as a response to the research context and actions of my research partners. After elaborating on ethical issues concerning my research work, I explain means of deciding on the choice of stakeholders and means of sampling. Thereafter I give a brief listing of steps in the data collection in general, followed by an introduction of the pre-intervention data collection tools and the post-intervention data collection tools.

The design of the research bears elements of action research. It is carried out in the form of a multiple case study. Improvement through an intervention aided by the involvement of cultural practitioners is envisaged with emancipatory purpose. Each of the twelve schools and their communities included in this research is seen as a separate case. As the time for the intervention is limited and as the detection, let alone the control of interfering variables, might be impossible, I doubt the significance of a concluding statistical generalization.

I will restrict the use of quantitative data collected by means of questionnaires for descriptive statistics. The data are collected following the classic set up of 'pre-intervention-data collection, followed by the intervention, followed by post-intervention data collection'. The boundaries between these three steps are not strictly drawn sequentially but in dependence of levels of intervention: E.g. pre-intervention data were collected from some chiefs in term two after I had already introduced ICAE in schools in term one. This procedure I do not see as distorting data because chiefs were not directly involved in ICAE school activities. Pre-and post intervention data are compared in order

to detect any possible influence the intervention might have had on the pupils' and the teachers' attitudes.

Qualitative data are collected through interviews and observations to support an analytic generalization.

According to Yin (2003)

....case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample," and in doing a case study, your goal will be to expand and generalise theories (analytic generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization) p.10.

## **6.1 Ethical Principles**

My discussion on ethical issues is based on the requirements for doing ethical research of my former university of studies, the Nottingham Trent University, and ethical principles presented and discussed by Bryman (2004). Planning methodological procedures demands the consideration of ethical issues, trying to avoid the transgression of ethical principles as much as possible. My discussion on ethical principles revolves around four areas of concern:

- a) Might involvement in the research harm any participants?
- b) Is the research based on the freely given informed consent of those studied?
- c) Might research activities involve any invasion of participants' privacy?
- d) Does the presentation of my research to the participants involve any deception?

All participants, pupils, teachers, chiefs and villagers, are informed about the basic aim and purpose of the research, its time frame, my position and the means of their involvement in the research: I introduce myself as a teacher trainer in Botswana, concerned about the fact that pupils' academic performance in the Kweneng West Sub-

District of Botswana is below the nation's average. I inform the participants about the fact that I am undertaking PhD studies in the UK, that this research is part of my study-requirements, adding an extrinsic motive to carry out the research to my intrinsic concerns to improve the school situation in the area. Participants are told that I try to find out reasons for the pupils' relatively poor performance through questionnaires and interviews. I inform the participants about my intention to involve villagers in classroom teaching with the aim to find out whether this intervention could improve pupils' performance. The participants are assured confidentiality regarding information they entrust and they are informed that the research is carried out in term one, two and three 2005.

Principally, participation in the research is voluntary. I am aware of the fact that voluntarism is limited, as prospective participating teachers functioning as coordinators (standard four teachers) could feel pressurised by head-teachers to take part. I do not see the need to ask pupils for their consent in being taught project lessons, as they fall under their daily timetable schedule, but I assure them that being involved in interviews and questioning is voluntary. I envisage situations when participants are not given absolutely all the details on every piece of research, finding myself in a situation described by Gans (1962:44) cited in Bryman (2004):

If the researcher is completely honest with people about his activities, they will try to hide actions and attitudes they consider undesirable, and so will be dishonest. Consequently, the researcher must be dishonest to get honest data (p.508).

In my research I will hand out disposable cameras to the coordinators, requesting them to capture events of the activities. I do not inform them about the true purpose of the exercise, which is to find indicators for their focus, as this information given could contaminate their decision on the focus, hence jeopardise my intention. Punch (1994:91) cited in Bryman (2004) excuses such relatively minor transgressions by observing that 'some dissimulation is intrinsic to social life and, therefore, to fieldwork.'



In order to ensure confidentiality actual names of persons are concealed in the whole research. Through concealing names of places from the phase of results-presentation on, and through aggregating results, I attempt to ensure that persons who participated in the research cannot be identified.

I cannot exclude the possibility that the identity of a few individuals might be recognised in cases where the name of the village gets encoded, which could be achieved by insiders who participated in the research; these individuals include the six coordinators, the village chiefs and the head teachers as they are singularities in the village. Nevertheless, through separating the code-key from the thesis this risk may be minimised. In addition, these persons are informed about my intention to publish my findings and I try to avoid associating embarrassing findings with any individual. The code key will be attached as a separate document for the purpose of thesis examination.

## **6.2 Sampling**

The Kweneng West district of Botswana was chosen as the research area, as it is predominantly populated by three non-Tswana tribes: BaSarwa (San or Bushmen), BaKgalagari and Afrikaaner (Coloureds). The district has 27 primary schools, out of which twelve schools were chosen as research schools: six as intervention schools and six as comparator schools. The decision on the twelve schools was made primarily on the basis of their location at either of the two roads from Molepolole to Kaudwane at the northern district border or from Molepolole to Khekhenye at the western district border. Molepolole is the district capital located 50km in the north-west of the country's capital Gaborone, it is the researcher's village of residence and hence the researcher's "project-headquarter".

The twelve schools were grouped into six pairs with similar characteristics. The purpose of finding matching pairs of villages and schools was to try to create two balanced samples of schools by ensuring that the villages of the comparator group are, as much as possible, comparable in size and nature with the villages of the intervention group. I had

no intention of making direct comparisons between the matching pairs but to view the intervention schools as six singularities and to try to find possibilities of analytic generalisations which, at a later stage, may yield results when compared to aggregated outcomes of comparator schools.

When I contacted the head teachers of the twelve schools at the end of 2004 to enquire whether they were prepared to participate in the research, all head teachers except one agreed. I replaced the school whose head teacher had disagreed by another suitable school whose head teacher welcomed the project in his school.

From each of the six pairs one school was chosen at random as the intervention school, the other as comparator school. The table below shows the result of the sampling, including the characteristics considered when pairing.

Intervention school	Comparator school	Characteristics of Village and School
Lethakeng PS	Gothibamang PS	Both schools are located in the large semi-urban village Lethakeng. The population of the village is predominantly of the BaKgalagari ethnicity.
Khudumelapye PS	Dutlwe PS	Both schools are located in small rural villages. The population of the villages is predominantly of BaKgalagari ethnicity.
Takatokwane PS	Maboane PS	Both schools are located in small rural villages. The population of the villages is predominantly of BaKgalagari ethnicity. The population of Takatokwane includes a noticeable number of Afrikaans speaking elder coloureds, whose children assimilated into the mainstream BaKgalagari culture.
Salajwe PS	Mantshwabisi PS	Both schools are located in small rural villages, Mantshwabisi distinctly nearer to the urban area than Salajwe. Both schools enrol pupils who live away from home in school-hostels. The population of the villages is mixed of BaKgalagari and BaSarwa ethnicity.
Kaudwane PS	Motokwe PS	Both schools are located in small, remote rural villages. Motokwe school is distinguished from Kaudwane school by the enrolment of pupils who live in a school hostel. The population of Motokwe is mixed of BaKgalagari and BaSarwa ethnicity. The population of Kaudwane is predominantly of BaSarwa ethnicity.
Khekhenye PS	Tshwaane PS	Both schools are located in small, very remote rural villages. The population of both villages is predominantly of BaSarwa ethnicity.

**Figure 6-1: sampling and pairing criteria**

## 6.3 Data Collection

The data collection follows the traditional pre-post approach. Data are collected before the intervention at the beginning of the school year and after the intervention towards the end of the school year:

- a) Questionnaires for Std 4 pupils to find out their level of self-assessment and how they view their home culture
- b) Questionnaires for all teachers to find out their level of satisfaction with their posting in the village, their attitude towards pupils and their attitude towards the village community and to collect their suggestions for improvement
- c) Interviews of chiefs, parents, Std 4 teachers and cultural practitioners in order to find out their attitude towards the local school and their explanation for the pupils poor performance at their school as well as suggestions for improvement
- d) Observation of pupils' behaviour and treatment in class
- e) Observation of general state and atmosphere at school:  
Tidiness of grounds, working order of administration block, working order and cleanliness of classrooms, cleanliness of pupils' toilets, presence of teaching staff, child-friendliness
- f) Level of academic performance of Std 4 pupils

### 6.3.1 Presentation of Pre-Intervention-Data Collection Tool

The following tools are used to collect data at the beginning of the field work in term one 2005:

#### 6.3.1.1 Questionnaires for Pupils

Pupils are given questionnaires to find out their level of self-assessment and how they view their home culture:

SCHOOL _____		LEINA (name): _____			
BOMMAAGO BA BUA PUO EFE? (which language does your family speak?)					
1.	KE NNA KWA GABORONE (I live in Gaborone)	YES		NO	
2.	KE WA NTLHA KWA LAPENG (I am the oldest child in my family)	YES		NO	
3.	KE BALA STANDARD 4 (I am in Standard 4)	YES		NO	
4.	KE TSHWARA KA PELE (I am a fast learner)	YES		NO	
5.	BANA BA BANGWE BA A NTHATA (other children like me)	YES		NO	
6.	BATHO BA KWA LAPENG BA A NTSHEPA (my family trusts me)	YES		NO	
7.	KE IPONA KE BOPEGILE SENTLE (I find myself good looking)	YES		NO	
8.	KE SETHAKGA THATA (I am creative)	YES		NO	
9.	KE SETSWERERE MO DILONG KA BONTSI (I am clean and tidy)	YES		NO	
10.	BATHO BA LAPA LA RONA BA A NKGATLHA (I am proud of my family)	YES		NO	
11.	BANA BA MONO BA GAISA BA KWA TOROPONG (Children from my village are better than children in town)	YES		NO	
12.	PUO YA RONA KWA LAPENG E GAISA DIPUO TSE DINGWE (my language is better than other languages)	YES		NO	

**Figure: 6-1 Questionnaire for Pupils**

The items in the questionnaire are given as statements requiring a categorical response with options 'yes' to be affirmed or 'no' to be refuted. This form of expressing views is culturally and linguistically more common and accepted in the research area than asking children personal questions, which might make them feel interrogated. Possible responses to each statement are limited to two. I have decided on this even number answering scheme as it demands a decision, it does not leave room for being undecided. Giving four or six choices would serve the same purpose, but I fear it would overstrain many pupils' ability to find a decision and tick the right box.

At the beginning of the school year 2005 pupils of one standard 4 class of each of the twelve schools which participate in the project are given the questionnaire above. The

original questionnaire is written only in Setswana, it does not include the translation into English.

At the end of the school year I intend to ask the same children to respond to the same statements again in order to see whether there are any changes in the responses. It is therefore important for me to ask the pupils for their names in the head of the questionnaire. In order to discover any differences in answering the questions between different ethnic groups I ask for the language spoken at home as this answer will help reveal the children's ethnicity.

The responses to the first three statements are not meant to be analysed. I give statements one and three solely to find out whether the child understands the system of filling in the questionnaire as the answers are obvious. All pupils should respond to the statement one with 'no', as no child from this village can currently live in Gaborone. All children should respond to the statement three with 'yes' as all are obviously standard 4 pupils, the class I have chosen for my research. Statement two, finding out whether the child is the oldest in the family, is given in order to emphasise the fact that choosing 'yes' or 'no' in this questionnaire is totally value-free, that it cannot be assessed as right or wrong. The responses to statements four to nine are meant to reveal the child's level of self assessment, the responses to statements ten to twelve how they view their home culture.

I intend to take the questionnaires personally to each class, to explain to the pupils the purpose of the questionnaire, to explain how to fill in the head and how to respond to the questions by writing the example 'I am a girl – yes – no' on the chalkboard. I will read each statement to the children and explain each task in Setswana and additionally in Shekgalagari, the language spoken by most and understood by nearly all pupils. They are asked to respond by ticking 'yes' or 'no', the class teacher and my research assistant will assist individual pupils if necessary. After collecting the questionnaires I intend to select those sheets where the responses make me assume that the child has not

understood the means of responding. This is the case if either the child has responded wrongly to any of the statements one or three, has ticked all statements 'yes' or all statements 'no', has skipped statements or has ticked any statement 'yes' and 'no'. I will call these pupils individually to another room in order to ask the child the questions verbally in the child's mother tongue and to record the responses.

The responses given in the questionnaires supply me with the following information for each child:

- a) The name of the school
- b) The name of the child
- c) The ethnicity of the child
- d) A quantitative level of self assessment through statements 5 to 9, with 0 the lowest and 5 the highest level
- e) A quantitative level of how pupils view their homes through statements 10 to 12, with 0 the lowest and 3 the highest level
- f) Responses to 9 different items reflecting a profile of each child.

#### **6.3.1.2 Questionnaire: Teachers**

All teachers were given questionnaires to find out their level of satisfaction with their posting in the village, their attitude towards pupils and their attitude towards the village community.



SCHOOL: _____					
NAME: _____					
HOME LANGUAGE: _____					
1	CHILDREN AT OUR SCHOOL ARE EASY TO TEACH	YES			NO
2	I LIKE LIVING IN MY SCHOOL VILLAGE	YES			NO
3	I HAVE FRIENDS FROM THIS COMMUNITY	YES			NO
4	I LEARNED A BIT OF THE LANGUAGE OF THIS COMMUNITY	YES			NO
5	I MANAGE TO TEACH THESE CHILDREN WELL	YES			NO
6	I WOULD SEND MY OWN CHILDREN TO THIS SCHOOL	YES			NO
7	PUPILS AT THIS SCHOOL ARE WELL MANNERED	YES			NO
8	PUPILS AT THIS SCHOOL ARE HARD WORKING	YES			NO
9	PUPILS AT THIS SCHOOL TEND TO SPEAK THEIR MOTHER TONGUE IN CLASS	YES			NO
10	CHILDREN LIKE THIS SCHOOL	YES			NO
11	PARENTS AT THIS SCHOOL ARE COOPERATIVE	YES			NO
12	MY COLLEAGUES AT THIS SCHOOL ARE COOPERATIVE	YES			NO
PLEASE MAKE ADDITIONAL COMMENTS REGARDING LIVING IN THIS VILLAGE AND PUPILS BEHAVIOUR AT THE BACK OF THIS PAGE					

**Figure 6-2Teacher's Questionnaire**

At the beginning of the school year 2005 all teachers of the 12 schools which participate in my research are given the questionnaire above to fill in. At the end of the school year I intend to ask the same teachers to respond to the same statements again in order to see whether there are any changes in the responses. It is therefore important for me to ask

the teachers for their names in the head of the questionnaire. In order to discover any differences in responding to the statements between different ethnic groups I ask for the language spoken at home as this answer will tell me the teachers' ethnicity.

The responses to items 1, 7 and 8 may tell me the teachers' attitude towards the pupils. The responses to items 2, 3, 4, 6 and 11 may tell me their attitude towards the village community. With response to item 5 teachers express their confidence in teaching at the school, the response to item 12 in connection with additional open comments tells me the satisfaction of the teacher about being posted in that particular school. The response to item 9 gives information about how the teacher perceives the pupils' language preference, the response to item 10 how the teacher perceives the pupils' attitude towards school.

Possible responses to each statement are limited to two. I have decided on this even number answering scheme as it demands a decision, it does not leave room for being undecided. Giving four or six choices would serve the same purpose, but I assume that this higher level of formal differentiation could falsify results as it exceeds most teachers' level of awareness of differences.

I ask the head teacher of each school for a staff meeting to allow me to introduce the aims and the schedule of my research and to explain the purpose of the questionnaire. The teachers are asked to fill in the form in my presence. The responses to the statements supply me with the following information for each teacher:

- a) The name of the school
- b) The name of the teacher
- c) The ethnicity of the teacher
- d) A quantitative level of attitude towards pupils through statements 1, 7 and 8 with 0 the lowest and 3 the highest level
- e) A quantitative level of attitude towards the community through statements 2, 3, 4, 6 and 11, with 0 the lowest and 5 the highest level

- f) Qualitative responses to 12 different statements ungrouped reflecting a profile of each teacher

### **6.3.1.3 Interviews**

I interview pupils, chiefs, parents, coordinators and local resource persons in order to find out their attitude towards school and their explanation for the pupils' poor performance at their school (at comparator school villages no resource persons and coordinators were interviewed).

The interviews are conducted as semi structured interviews following Gordon's approach of 'Active Listening'. The participants are interviewed in their language of preference, Shekgalagari, Setswana or English. Unfortunately, I am not familiar with the locally used Sesarwa language, but I assume that all BaSarwa in that region speak Shekgalagari at least as their second language, most even as their first language.

The chiefs are interviewed at the kgotla, the village's official meeting place, or at their home, which is usually attached to the kgotla. Parents, some pupils and cultural practitioners are interviewed at their homes, teachers and some pupils at the school.

I will begin the interviews by stating the fact that compared to the rest of Botswana, generally pupils in the whole Kweneng West sub-district perform poorly at school and that the drop out rate from schools is high. As participants comment on this statement I restrict myself to repeat their contributions frequently in order to ensure correct perception and interpretation on my side and to summarise their contributions at the end of each sequence of trains of thoughts. The participants may accept my summaries and interpretations, they may also correct them. Depending on the topics taken up by the participants I will, if need be, ask to comment on causal attribution for pupils' poor performance and high drop out rates and/or for suggestions to ease the problem.

#### **6.3.1.4 Observation of Pupils' Behaviour and Treatment**

During the first school term in 2005 I intend to pay each Std 4 class of the schools which participate in my research three visits. The aim of my first visit is mainly to ask the pupils to fill in the questionnaire, but also to observe their responses to my request. During the second visit I intend to observe the Std 4 class being taught two lessons by their class teacher. At the third visit, which will be in classes of intervention schools only, I ask the children for presentations of traditional games and/or demonstrations of crafts making as my assistant and I carry out class observations.

The class observations are guided by the following observation sheet. Gender, ethnicity and standard of dressing are noted at the beginning of the lesson. The level of pupils' activity in communication, the amount of praises, reprimands and ridicules received on part of the teacher, the amount of extra mural tasks being asked to carry out on part of the teacher and peer support or bullying received on part of other pupils are recorded through a check list and later translated into numbers or percentages. The first two assignments on the checklist are done by my research assistant, the remaining four by me. The checklist is kept alternating for one assignment for 10 minutes at a time per lesson, the numbers and/or percentages are estimated at the end of each lesson, aided by the checklist results.

Additional observations are continuously captured by both, my research assistant and I, on an extra sheet.

OBSERVATION SHEET PUPILS STD 4		DATE: _____	
SCHOOL: _____			
		~%	No
number of children	Boys		
	Girls		
Ethnicity	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
Appropriate standard of dressing	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
10 min Check list:		Lesson 1	Lesson 2
Active communication with teacher	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
Active communication with other pupils	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
Being praised by teacher	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
Being reprimanded or ridiculed by teacher	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
Being sent/told to carry out a duty by teacher	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
Being bullied	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		
Being supported by peers	BaSarwa		
	BaKgalagari		
	BaTswana		
	Afrikaaner		

**Figure 6-3: Class Observation sheet**

### **6.3.1.5 Observation of General State of School and Atmosphere at School**

(Tidiness of grounds, working order of administration block, working order and cleanliness of classrooms, cleanliness of pupils' toilets, presence of teaching staff, child-friendliness)

Both my research assistant and I take notes independently capturing the general state and atmosphere at the school. We are guided by seven areas of observation:

a) Tidiness of grounds

Our focus is on the level of littering, whether the grounds are kept free of discarded furniture and/or building material, whether any trees or other decorative plants have been planted and whether staff cars are parked away to free space for children. We will observe whether there are any facilities which offer comfort for pupils like benches under shade trees etc.

b) Working order of administration block

Our focus is on whether the foyer is well kept and welcoming with functional notice board, the level of working order in the staff room, whether it offers working space and facilities like literature, pigeon holes, stationary etc for teachers, the availability of computers, copy machines, a phone, the accoutrements and hospitable nature of the head teachers office and general cleanliness.

c) Working order and cleanliness of classrooms

Our focus is on cleanliness of the classroom, state of maintenance of windows, doors and furniture, availability of a chair and a working space for each child, display of teaching aids and pupils work, availability of stationary like chalk, exercise books, spare pens and pencils, manila, crayons, scissors and glue, the storage and care of such material.

d) Cleanliness of pupils' toilets

Our focus is on the state of maintenance and the cleanliness of children's toilets.

e) Presence of teaching staff

Our focus is on whether the school management team, especially the head teacher, and the class teachers are available during assembly, during teaching times and in the afternoon.

f) Child-friendliness

Our focus is firstly on how pupils are addressed at the assembly, secondly on how the daily meal is offered to pupils, thirdly how pupils are approached by teachers to carry out duties.

g) Level of Academic Performance of Pupils

I intend to observe the pupils' ability to understand, write and respond verbally in English and in Setswana, further to observe their ability to draw and to cut paper using scissors.

### 6.3.2 Presentation of Post-Intervention-Data Collection Tools

The data collection tools for interviews and observations are identical with the pre-intervention-data collection tools. The post-intervention-data questionnaires handed out to Std 4 pupils and teachers differ slightly from the pre-intervention-data questionnaires. The core items remained the same, only the sequence of appearance differs to avoid easy recognition of items which might cause participants to try to prove consistency. For the same reason the three first test-items in the questionnaire for pupils were changed. They now read as

1.	KOLOI YA TLINIKI E NKISA SEKOLONG MOSO LE MOSO (the ambulance takes me to school every morning)	YES			NO	
2.	KE GO FEJANE KWA GA MME (I am the last born child of my mother)	YES			NO	
3.	KE TSENA MO SEKOLONG SA PRIMARY (I am a primary school child)	YES			NO	

**Figure 6-4 Head of pupil's post-intervention questionnaire**

The explanation for including these items is in accordance with the pre-intervention-data questionnaire. No child is taken to school by the ambulance car (a common means of public transport to get to town), all pupils are obviously primary school children and the



information supplied whether to be the last born in the family expresses that giving answers is value free and it might be right to differ from the neighbours answer.

In the questionnaire for teachers three items are added:

	CHILDREN IN THIS SCHOOL ARE CLEAN AND TIDY	YES			NO	
	CHILDREN TEND TO SOLVE THEIR CONFLICTS PEACEFULLY	YES			NO	
	CHILDREN ARE FREE TO ANSWER ORALLY IN CLASS	YES			NO	
PLEASE MAKE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS AT THE BACK OF THIS PAGE						

**Figure 6-5 Additional Items, Post-Intervention: Teachers**

The responses to these three items add information to the responses No's 1, 7 and 8 in the pre-intervention-data questionnaire about the teachers' attitude towards pupils.

My request for additional notes in the pre-intervention-data questionnaire reads:

PLEASE MAKE ADDITIONAL COMMENTS REGARDING LIVING IN THIS VILLAGE AND PUPILS' BEHAVIOUR AT THE BACK OF THIS PAGE
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**Figure 6-6: Questionnaire, pre-intervention, targeted request for comments: Teachers**

In the post-data questionnaire I leave the question more open to encourage free expression of associations with the research project.

## 6.4 Intervention

I will carry out the intervention at six intervention schools at Kweneng West district. The situation for many children in the Kweneng West sub-district is alarming. Their academic performance and their school attendance are low; the pupils are subjected to ill-treatment at schools even to the extent that some girls are raped in the hostels.

I plan the following interventions:

1. Workshop with school staff – topic: ‘Cultural Clashes’
2. Three meetings in each term one and two, and two meetings in term three with Std 4 teachers (coordinators) to introduce and explain to them the project idea, to offer guidance and reinforcement
3. Identify local resource persons, explain the project idea to them, introduce and connect them to the coordinators

#### **6.4.1 Workshop with Teachers**

Workshop Topic: ‘Cultural Clashes’

Towards the end of the first term 2005 I hold a workshop with staff members of all six intervention schools with the topic ‘Cultural Clashes’. In this workshop I will initiate the following activities:

- a) I will ask teachers to write down rewarding and disturbing experiences they have made with pupils of ethnic minority groups, read the notes out for all and discuss them.
- b) My research assistant will give a short introduction on ‘What is culture?’ in the German language, teachers will be asked how much they understood, how they felt when being asked questions in that language. I will make the teachers aware of the fact that the experience they just made is comparable with the experience pupils of ethnic minority groups make when getting to standard one.
- c) I will give a short lecture about ‘cultural clashes’, explaining that clashes often appear value-neutral as misunderstandings. I will give examples from different cultures including clashes between different Tswana groups, which are familiar to most teachers but often not attributed as cultural clashes.
- d) Teachers will be asked to scrutinize their notes in order to detect cultural clashes as causes for the disturbing experiences they have mentioned previously.

#### **6.4.2 Meetings with Coordinators**

During my first visit at the schools in January 2005 I ask head-teachers of all 12 research schools to decide on the Std 4 teachers to be asked to cooperate in the research project. I

stress the fact that participation is voluntary, that I would rather decide on another school in the district to be included in the project than forcing a teacher to participate.

In the first term I meet each coordinator of the six project schools three times:

At my first visit I explain the aim of the project to involve cultural practitioners of the village in arts-project teaching. I give each coordinator guidelines on how to conduct project lessons and hand out a single-use camera to capture events of the project. The coordinators are encouraged to explore and identify cultural practitioners in the village by asking colleagues, pupils and parents during PTA meetings for information. At this visit teachers and Std 4 pupils are asked to fill in the questionnaires.

At my second visit I will observe one lesson taught by the coordinator and evaluate the coordinators efforts to identify cultural practitioners. In case they were successful I intend to visit the villager in order to find out the kind of artistic skills but also communication skills they possess and whether they are prepared to support a teacher in teaching an arts project. I suggest to the teacher to visit suitable cultural practitioners and organise a session with their involvement in teaching, preferably on a day where I could be present as well.

At my third visit I support coordinators in designing a project plan (lesson plan). In addition I will ask coordinators to accompany me to cultural practitioners in order to introduce the teacher to the villager if necessary and to decide on ways of cooperation.

In the second term I meet each coordinator of the six project schools again three times:

At my first visit I hope to observe a cultural practitioner presenting an activity in class as an introduction to a topic. I intend to support the teacher in organising the lesson, e.g. to ensure that all pupils have a chance to participate, and in planning follow up lessons as part of the project.

The two other visits in the second term I intend to plan and conduct depending on the needs of the coordinators and the cultural practitioners.

During the third term I will visit each coordinator of the six project schools twice:

The aim of my first visit is to observe a lesson taught by the coordinator in collaboration with a cultural practitioner and to interview the coordinators and the cultural practitioners about their evaluation of the project, whether they see it as suitable to strengthen the schools' relationship with the community, to enhance cultural understanding in teachers and to enhance pupils' understanding of the school culture. In order to encourage the coordinators to focus on pupils' and cultural practitioners' strengths rather than on weaknesses, I provide each coordinator with a form to supply me with information regarding pupils' and cultural practitioners' skills.

During my second third term visit pupils and teachers are asked to fill in the evaluation questionnaires. I will have a final discussion with the coordinators, encouraging them to continue with the project work.

I will visit the standard four teachers of the six comparator schools twice during the first term, twice during the second term and once during the third term. The main purpose of my visits is to observe lessons taught by the teachers and to support them in conducting CaPA lessons. During the first and the last visit I ask teachers and Std 4 pupils to fill in the questionnaires.

#### **6.4.3 Identifying and Engaging Local Resource Persons**

In the afternoons of my visits in the villages I intend to collect names of cultural practitioners by asking pupils and adult villagers for information. I will visit identified cultural practitioners, see the kind of cultural activities they perform and, in case I find them suitable, I will familiarise them with my research idea and ask them for support. If

possible I will introduce the coordinator to the cultural practitioners, preferably at the villager's home, and I will encourage the two to make arrangements for their cooperation.

Once cultural practitioners are engaged in supporting teaching I will visit them frequently to offer guidance and support in their involvement in school. My guidance will focus especially on encouraging cultural practitioners to engage pupils in the activities rather than letting them simply observe their skills.

#### **6.4.4 Supplying Coordinators with Cameras**

At the beginning of my intervention I supply each coordinator with a disposable camera to take photos of ICAE events they deem important. The analysis of these photos supplies me with information about the coordinators' focus regarding the research project.

## 7 Pre Intervention Data

After explaining methods used to record, to code and to analyse data I introduce the results gathered through questionnaires, interviews and own observations. The persons who supplied me with information were pupils, teachers, parents, cultural practitioners and village chiefs.

The research steps of intervention and data collection were not taken in a chronological time-wise sequence. Even though first intervention-steps of contacting the school management teams to negotiate access to the schools and to agree on means of research activities preceded the pre-intervention data collection, they will be described in the following chapter eight 'Introducing Intercultural Arts Education'. Later intervention-steps taken depended on the analysis of data collected preliminarily.

My doubts concerning the reliability and the validity of my quantitative data proved justified through my observations. I noticed for example incidents where stakeholders' responses rather expressed traits than attitudes, as they were reactions to momentary occurrences. One example was the teachers' questionnaire responses in Legonono, where teachers and villagers had exchanged serious accusations in term one during a *kgotla* meeting shortly before I asked the teachers to fill in the questionnaires. In term one, they expressed a negative view of pupils' and parents' attitudes, which was way above average; in term three their results had changed towards an average of all schools.

Aiming to capture pupils' attitudes towards their home culture I asked the question whether they saw children in their village as better than children in town. Not in accordance with the general trend of expressing a positive view of their homes, many children answered this question with 'no'. Only through interviews I discovered that the expression 'better' was often, against my intention, understood as 'academically better';

it is common knowledge that children in town achieve better results in nationwide Standard Four- and Standard Seven Examinations than children in the research area.

I decided to assign more weight to the qualitative data collected and to draw on the quantitative data mainly to corroborate or to question qualitative data.

The questionnaire responses were transformed into 'Microsoft EXCEL'. Mean scores for each individual item and for the aggregated items were calculated for all participants and for relevant groups of participants with respect to gender, ethnicity, school and level of participation in the project (intervention group or comparator group). I calculated the standard deviation for each item in order to recognise divergence of group-responses from the average and I calculated the correlation between items in order to detect possible interdependencies.

I analysed the questionnaire responses for each item and also based on an aggregated item representing items with similar content. In the pre-intervention analysis the aggregation was done a-priori based on my intention to capture attitudes. In addition, interdependencies between items with a correlation coefficient greater than .25 and differences of group-means of more than ½ standard-deviations were considered.

In the post-intervention data analysis I used in addition an ex-post-facto aggregation based on my gained understanding of pupils' and teachers' interpretation of the individual items. Some results I decided to visualise through diagrams.

I decided to use Microsoft EXCEL for storing, sorting, analysing and visualising data through graphics as I found the program easy to operate and sufficient in its functions for my requirements.

Most interviews were taped using a dictaphone, some interviews as well as all observations were recorded in writing by me and my research assistant. All interviews



and observations were, when necessary, translated into English, thereafter transcribed in 'Microsoft Word' and coded and categorised in 'NVIVO2'. Unfortunately, I only learned about NVIVO after I had completed my fieldwork and moved to Edinburgh, my present university of studies. I had already transcribed all information in 'Word' and realised that using NVIVO from the beginning would have availed me more advantages of that program.

The raw-data for pre- and post-intervention questionnaires, which may be viewed at Appendix D, were the base for the following analysis.

## **7.1 Pre-Intervention Questionnaire results – Pupils**

During term one 2005 I visited all twelve schools within three weeks to ask pupils of one standard four class per school to fill in the questionnaires. For this purpose I was given one hour per class. The class-teacher and my research assistant assisted me in distributing the questionnaires and pens to pupils who did not have any. I tried to ensure that pupils do not sit too closely to each other to prevent peer influence in answering. Thereafter I wrote the questionnaire head and the first three questions which were not part of the questions to be analysed on the chalkboard. I explained in Setswana and in Shekgalagari how to fill in the head (name of pupil, name of school, date, mother tongue and gender) and asked the pupils to do it on their questionnaires. Then I read each question loudly in Setswana, translated and explained it in Shekgalagari and asked pupils to answer the questions on their questionnaires by ticking 'yes' or 'no'. The first three test-questions, which were not going to be included in the analysis, were answered in addition exemplary by volunteering pupils on the chalkboard.

Several times I had to explain to the children that they were asked for their personal opinions which might differ from their neighbours' opinions, as I saw them trying to copy answers. The pupils took about thirty minutes to fill in the questionnaires. As we collected the questionnaires we already sorted out those who showed that pupils were overtaxed with the task: They had either answered all questions with 'yes' or all

questions with 'no', had skipped questions, had answered the same items with 'yes' and with 'no' or had answered one of the first three test-questions wrongly. I put a desk with two chairs outside the classroom and called the children whose sheets had been selected one by one to help them correcting their questionnaires where need be. In most schools about four out of about forty children needed such help, in one school half the class was unable to fill in the questionnaires without any extra assistance.

### **7.1.1 Results**

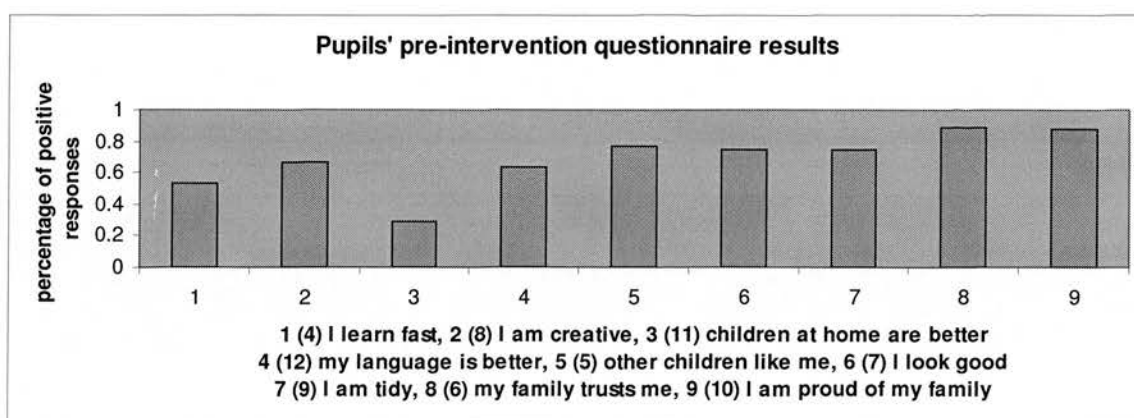
380 pupils answered the questions, 222 in intervention schools, 158 in comparator schools. The questionnaire contained twelve items. Items one, two and three were test-items, only the other nine items were analysed:

Items 4 (I learn fast), 7 (I look good), 8 (I am creative) and 9 (I am clean and tidy) express the pupil's self assessment.

Responses to items 5 (other children like me) and 6 (my family trusts me) indicate how the child assumes to be valued by others.

Items 10 (I am proud of my family), 11 (children from my village are better than children from town) and 12 (my language is better than other languages) represent attitudes towards their homes.

Items were averaged and analyzed separately; in addition items were aggregated in above three groups and averaged, representing an average percentage of agreement.



**Figure 7-1: Pupils' Pre-intervention data**

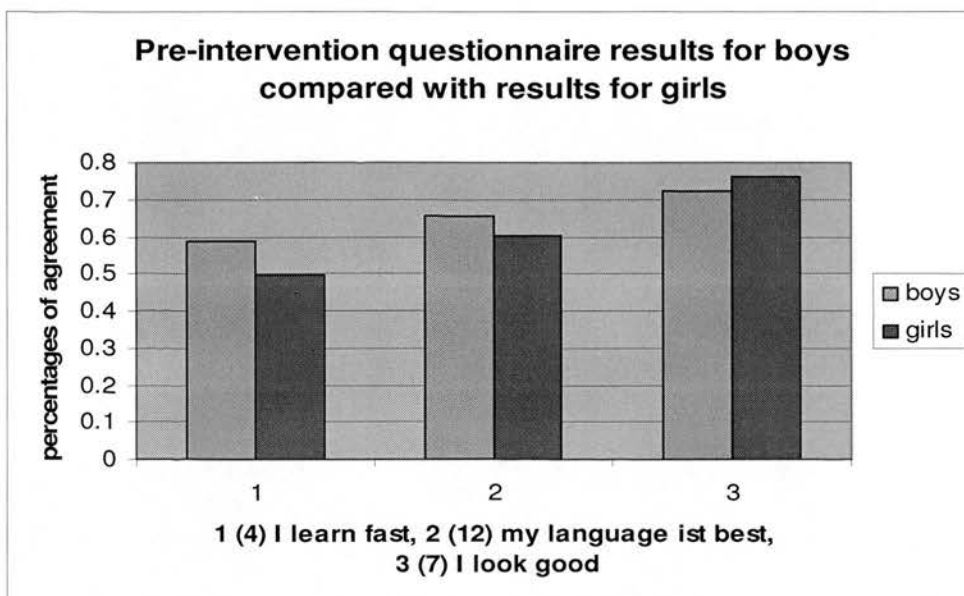
In brackets are the item numbers. The first four items are school related; the following five items are not school related.

The aggregated level of a positive self assessment lies at 67%. Interestingly, the level for item 4 'I learn fast', which is commonly judged by teachers, lies at only 53%. Items 7 'I look good' and 9 'I am tidy', which are beyond the teachers' judgment, score 74%. 76% of all pupils believe they are liked by other pupils and even 88% express that they are trusted by their families.

The answers to item 10 also reflect a positive attitude towards the pupils' families: 88% express that they are proud of their family. 64% believe that their home language, predominantly Shekgalagari, is better than other languages; the answers are probably influenced by the low reputation Shekgalagari has at school. When responding to items which may be judged by teachers, most of who are seen to come from towns, the percentage drops: only 28% believe that 'pupils in my home village are better than pupils in town' (item 11). As mentioned above, I assume the expression 'better' is mainly associated with academic performance. Interviews of selected pupils strengthen this assumption.

Looking at the results for boys and girls separately, slightly more boys consider themselves as 'fast learners' (59%) and perceive their language as the best (66%) than girls who score 50% and 60% respectively. Both items are school-related statements.

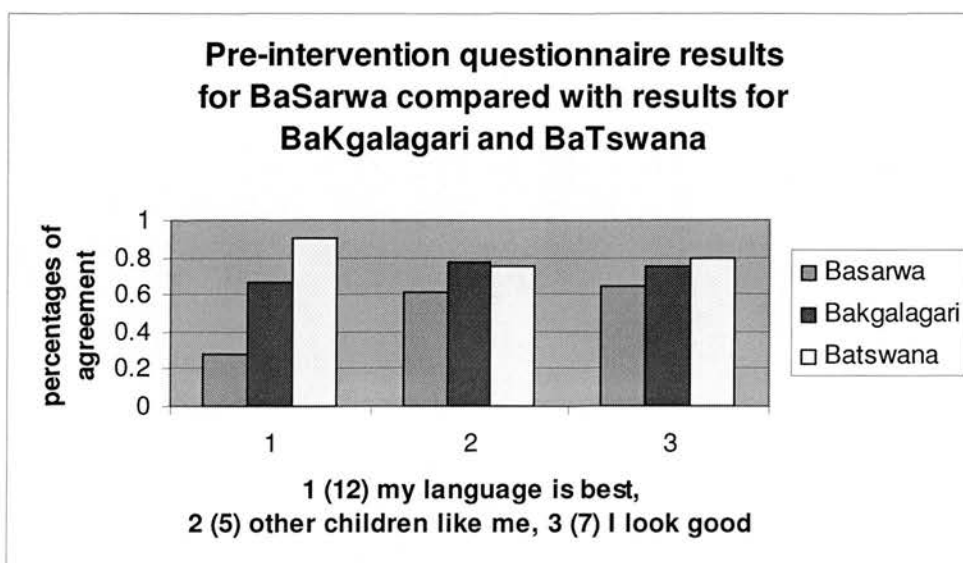
Girls, on the other hand, consider themselves more often as good looking than boys do (76% compared to 72%).



**Figure 7-2: Pre-intervention questionnaire results for boys versus results for girls**

In brackets are the item numbers. Boys score higher in the two items four and twelve which are both succumbed to teachers' judgement. Girls score higher in item 7 which lies beyond the teachers' judgement.

Differences show clearly when results for the 39 Sesarwa speakers, 323 Shekgalagari speakers and 18 Setswana speakers are compared. The classification was done based on pupils' self-assignment on the questionnaires (no children classified themselves as Afrikaans-speakers). The statement 'my language is better than other languages' is answered by 28% of Sesarwa speakers with 'yes' compared to 66% by Shekgalagari speakers and even 90% by Setswana speakers. Sesarwa speakers also score lower with 62% and 64% in statements 5 'other pupils like me', and 7 'I look good', where Shekgalagari speakers score 78% and 75% and Setswana speakers 75% and 80%.



**Figure 7-3: Pre-intervention results, Basarwa vs Bakgalagari pupils**

In brackets are the item numbers. BaSarwa pupils score in all three items lower than other pupils.

### 7.1.2 Summary

- a) The aggregated level of positive self assessment lies at 67%. Positive attitudes to items dependent on teachers' judgement score about 55%. Positive attitudes to items beyond the teachers' judgment score about 75%.
- b) This discrepancy between self-attributing attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment and attitudes beyond teachers' judgment is slightly stronger in girls than in boys.
- c) Pupils have strong ties to their families; 88% feel trusted by their families and are proud of their homes. 64% believe that their home language, predominantly Shekgalagari, is better than other languages.
- d) BaSarwa pupils (Bushman) have internalized the marginalization of their ethnicity, most reject their own language. Slightly less BaSarwa pupils than speakers of other languages feel liked by others, slightly less BaSarwa pupils than others find themselves good looking with their distinctive BaSarwa features.

## **7.2 Interviews: Pupils**

Children in the Kweneng West sub-district are not used to being asked for their opinions by adults. They rather perceive 'being asked to answer questions' as a form of punishment, as the practice of interrogation is commonly used as punishment in Shekgalagari culture. I therefore decided to interview children not 'on request' but rather by chance: after helping them to fill in the questionnaire, when meeting them during school time herding cattle in the bush, when giving them a lift in the car or when visiting their homes.

My core question aimed to find out their opinion as to why they absconded from school or why they think other pupils abscond from school. I did not ask for reasons for poor performance as I assume this might have overstretched their ability to reflect on teaching methods applied by teachers especially as pupils are used to taking the blame themselves for poor performance.

All children interviewed were asked for their consent and were guaranteed confidentiality. All children answered willingly, most children expressed a desire to share their thoughts with me. All interviews were held in Shekgalagari and translated into English.

### **7.2.1 Reasons for absconding from school**

Pupils give different reasons for absconding from school:

#### **7.2.1.1 Corporal Punishment**

Most pupils attributed poor school attendance to the indiscriminate use of the stick to administer corporal punishment.

I interviewed N. (10 years old) from Lehatja at his grandmother's home:

Me: 'Why are you not at school?'

N: 'I am afraid of the stick.'

Me: 'I didn't see any sticks at school.'

N: 'The teachers hide them when there are visitors.'

Me: 'Which teacher beats children?'

N: 'All.'

Me: 'Where on your body do the teachers beat you?'

N: bends and touches over his shoulder 'The back.'

Me: 'Why would a teacher beat you?'

N: 'If the teacher leaves the class for some time and some children play around and make noise, when the teacher comes back to the class they would just grab any pupils and beat them. They don't ask whether you were playing in class or not.'

At another home in Lekgwapha I meet 13 years old E:

Me: 'Why do some children run away from school?'

E: 'Teachers hate children who don't learn and so they beat them more.'

At a farm in Tjhejweng I interview P. who is 18 years old:

Me: 'Have you completed school?'

P: 'No. I left before completing Junior Secondary School. I and some friends were caught inhaling glue fumes trying to get high on it. We were supposed to get beaten. Some took it and now they are at Senior Secondary. Others, like me, ran away.'

In Lehatja an older boy M. of about 18 complained mainly about the fact that he was not recognized as a reasoning person:

M. 'Teachers beat you for reasons you don't know. When you ask why you got beaten, they beat you more for disrespect.'



### **7.2.1.2 Lack of School Uniforms**

Many pupils give as a reason for absconding from school lack of school uniforms.

At a farm near Kgalong I met two about 13 year old boys collecting water during school time on a donkey cart:

Me: 'Are you not at school?'

1st: 'I used to go to school where my grandmother lives. I left school, I fear the stick.' He laughs, making a beating gesture.

Me: 'How about you?' (I look at the other boy)

2nd: 'I never been to school. My mother was too poor to buy me a uniform.'

### **7.2.1.3 Pupils' Misconduct**

A few pupils, mostly in the village of Tjhotjologeng, attribute other children's failure to attend lessons to their misconduct. I was left alone with a standard 4 class in Tjhotjologeng for 30 minutes as the teacher had to attend some administrative business. I used the chance to initiate a class discussion about school drop-outs:

1st: 'Some steal or destroy school property and run away.'

2nd: 'Or they drink (alcohol), or smoke marihuana, or sniff (glue) and don't go to school.'

3rd: 'Some just find excuses for not coming to school.'

At a craftsperson's home in Lekgwapha I met 11 year old O. and F.:

O: 'Pupils fail because they don't talk in class.'

F: 'Yes, they don't work.'

O: 'They are stubborn.'

#### 7.2.1.4 Poor Conditions at Hostels

Some pupils leave the school because the conditions at the hostels are appalling. Three out of the twelve schools have hostels. Nearly all hostel children are BaSarwa (Bushmen) as they often do not live in villages but in remote rural area settlements.

As we left the village of Tjhuleng we met two school girls aged about 12 walking towards the neighbouring village which is about 6km from Tjhuleng. We offered a lift and a conversation developed:

Me: 'Do you walk all the way to M.?'

1st: 'Yes, every day.'

2nd: 'To and fro.'

Me: 'Can't you stay at the hostels?'

2nd: 'We stayed at the hostels until last year.'

Me: 'Was there no more space at the hostels?'

2nd: Looks a bit embarrassed to the other girl who nods encouraging 'We moved out of the hostels back home because the boys always wanted cookies (intercourse).'

1st: 'Once you grow older they come at night, they pinch the small girls so they move into another bed and then they get into your blankets and want cookies.' (As there are not enough beds two to three children have to share one mattress.)

Me: 'Can't you report this?'

1st: 'We once reported to the matron and some boys were warned. But we fear them and they still come.'

Me: 'What about the night-watchman?'

2nd: 'That's an old man. He sleeps most of the time and he also fears the boys.'

In Legonono the girl S. fell ill during lesson. I decided to take S. to the hostel so she could lie down and rest. A conversation developed between her, some of her older room mates (who were about sixteen years old) and me:

Me: 'So you have to share your mattress with another girl?'

S: 'With two girls.' She points at two older girls.

Me: 'And is there no door for your room?' The children look at each other, they keep quiet.

Me: 'Don't you fear someone might get in at night?'

1st: 'Sometimes in the dark they get in.'

Me: 'Who gets in?'

2nd: 'Dogs get in.'

Me: 'Dogs?'

2nd: 'It's dark, so we cannot see who it is. It must be dogs.'

Me: 'And how did the door get broken?'

1st: 'The boys broke it.'

Me: 'How?'

1st: 'We had locked the door so they cannot get in at night, then they broke the door.'

2nd: 'But it was dark.'

Me: Looking at S. 'Do boys trouble you at night?'

S: 'The boys come at night. They pinch me until I go to another bed. Then they do things with ..' She nods towards the 1st girl.

Me: Looking at 1st girl 'Can't you refuse?'

1st: 'They beat us!'

2nd: 'You can't refuse.'

Me: 'So the boys who come are pupils at this school that stay at the boys' hostels?'

1st: 'Most of them. Sometimes also men from the village come.'

### **7.2.2 Summary**

Pupils report about ill-treatment at schools: They state they are subjected to indiscriminate corporal punishment by teachers and sexual harassment in the hostels by older male pupils and village men.

Pupils also report that children abscond from school because the parents cannot afford to buy compulsory school uniforms and according to them the counsel officers often do not supply the destitute with uniforms in time.

Some pupils have internalized the blame. They justify the punishment for 'giving wrong or no answers' or for 'arguing' in class. Some blame other pupils for misconduct and consequently absconding from school out of fear for punishment.

### **7.3 Pre-Intervention Questionnaire Results - Teachers**

During my first official visit in term one 2005 at all twelve schools I invited the teachers for a short meeting in the staffroom to explain the purpose of my research work and to ask them to fill in the questionnaire. In all schools the teachers were cooperative and answered the questions willingly. Even my request to write their names on the questionnaires in order to enable me to match their answers with answers given during term III was accepted by the vast majority of teachers.

The Questionnaires are made up of twelve questions. They are asked to find out the teachers' level of satisfaction with their posting in the village, their attitude towards pupils and their attitude towards the village community. 160 teachers filled in the questionnaires, 86 in intervention schools and 74 in comparator schools.

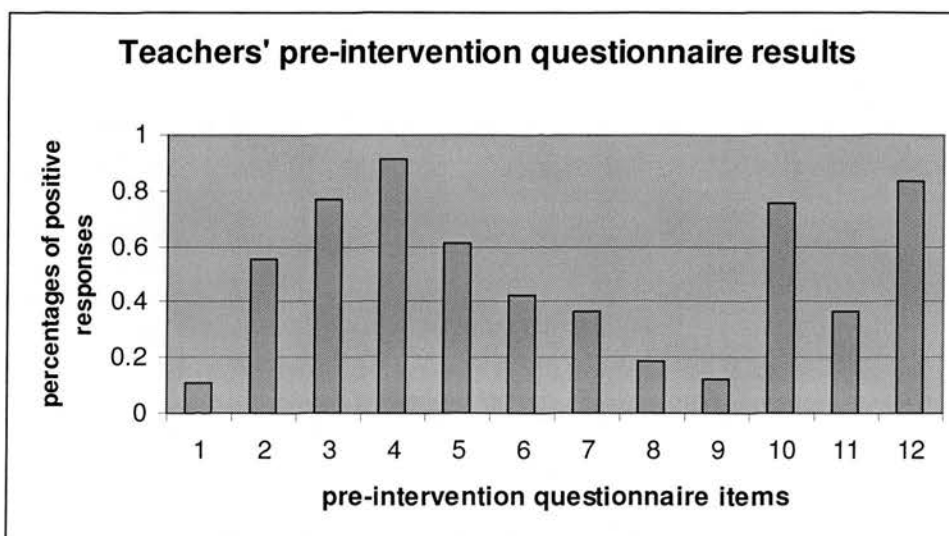


Figure 7-4: Teachers' pre-intervention questionnaire results

Item 01:	children at our school are easy to teach
Item 02:	I like living in my school village
Item 03:	I have friends from this community
Item 04:	I learned a bit of the language of this community
Item 05:	I manage to teach these children well
Item 06:	I would send my own children to this school
Item 07:	pupils at this school are well mannered
Item 08:	pupils at this school are hard working
Item 09:	pupils at this school tend to speak their mother tongue in class (item                      inversed)
Item 10:	children like this school
Item 11:	parents at this school are cooperative
Item 12:	my colleagues at this school are cooperative

56% of all teachers declared that they liked living in the village (item 2). This item correlates .34 with the item 6 - 'I would send my own children to this school', which was answered by 43% with yes. It also correlates .29 and .25 respectively with the items

11 and 12 - 'parents at this school are cooperative' and 'my colleagues at this school are cooperative'.

Only 18% of all teachers see the pupils as hard working (item 8) and only 11% find the children easy to teach (item 1). These items correlate .31 and .32 respectively with the item 'parents at this school are cooperative'. 37% of the teachers say that their pupils are well mannered (item 7). This correlates .27 with both items 'parents at this school are cooperative' and 'my colleagues at this school are cooperative'. 88% of the teachers noted their pupils' habit to speak their mother tongue (mostly Shekgalagari) in class (item 9 shown in the diagram inversed).

36% of the teachers perceive the parents as cooperative (item 11). 77% have friends from the community (item 3) and 91% learned some of the community language (item 4).

I asked all 160 teachers for additional written comments on their questionnaire papers regarding 'living in the village' and 'pupils' behaviour'. Not all teachers made comments.

41 teachers bemoaned lack of comfort in their villages as there are neither proper shops nor banks, in many cases there is no electricity, hence no television reception and no possibility to connect a fridge, there is no telephone connection, no public transport, and even water supply is unreliable. 17 add that the remoteness also contributes to the lack of teaching material.

40 teachers complained that the community is hostile towards teachers from 'the east', who are mostly of BaTswana ethnicity. 29 stressed the lack of cooperativeness on behalf of the villagers.

58 teachers mentioned that their pupils lack respect and misbehave, 22 complained about pupils' tendency to solve problems aggressively through fighting. 15 expressed lack of motivation in pupils which leads to frequent absenteeism.

### **7.3.1 Summary**

About half the teachers are satisfied with their posting. The level of satisfaction depends to a certain extent on the perceived level of cooperation with parents and colleagues. Teachers who are satisfied with being posted in the village tend to be prepared to send their own children to that school. Dissatisfaction with the posting is mainly attributed to lack of comfort due to remoteness and hostility towards teachers shown by villagers.

By far most teachers find the pupils difficult to teach and not hard working and, I interpret, 'they complain' about their tendency to speak the non-official language Shekgalagari in class. They see the pupils' efforts to 'perform well' dependent upon their parents' willingness to cooperate with the school. Two out of three teachers see their pupils as ill-mannered and again, they see this pupils' attitude in connection with the parents', but also their colleagues' willingness to cooperate. Being ill-mannered is, according to teachers, mainly shown through lack of respect towards teaching staff and the tendency to solve problems through fights.

Two out of three teachers do not see the parents as cooperative, some even bemoan villagers' hostility towards teachers, but three out of four stress the fact that themselves they have made efforts to make friends in the community and even nine out of ten have made efforts to learn some Shekgalagari.

## **7.4 Interviews with Parents and Cultural practitioners**

In each village I visited parents of standard 4 pupils, envisaged cultural practitioners, and parents of children who were not at school. The interviews took place during visits



at villagers' homes. I also interviewed villagers occasionally at drinking spots, at farms, when offering them a lift in the car or at schools.

I opened the interviews by stating that pupils in the Kweneng West sub-district had poorer academic results and higher school drop-out rates than pupils in the rest of the country. I either let the conversation develop freely solely based on that statement or, if need be, I asked for the interviewees opinion of what might be the cause for this situation. I held the interviews in the language of the interviewees' preference, mostly in Shekgalagari.

#### **7.4.1 Indiscriminate beating of children by teachers: Complaints from Parents**

Mother 1: 'Our children fail because of beating. They live in fear.'

Mother 2: 'Beating is very common in the local school. Our children in the rural areas are not used to being beaten.'

Grandmother: 'Our children are beaten like flogging – as if they had committed crimes. My standard one grandchild left school because she was beaten on the head. The teachers don't beat 'whole-heartedly' but indiscriminately.'

I was told the following story by Ms. S., a BaSarwa craftsperson who makes beads-work and who is a grandmother to children in school-going age:

Ms. S: 'This small boy (her grandson) fears to be beaten at school. He was in the first class at school and had already been corporally punished on several occasions since the beginning of the year. The teacher used 'this thing' to beat him on the fingers – what do you call this thing you use when writing at school?'

Boy: Laughs shyly and whispers the only word he ever said during my visit:  
'*rulara*' (ruler)

Ms.S: 'He cried in class and just sat there waiting for break. At break time he went for his food, came back to class to sit and wait for the time to pass so he could go home. He swore to himself never to go back to school again. I do not understand how school functions; it seems to be impossible for school to function without beating children. What I cannot understand is why teachers have to beat even the very small children who are not yet used to school. At the beginning of the year I took the boy to school and asked the teachers to spare him from corporal punishment in order to give him a chance to get used to school. As soon as I turned my back they thrashed him. Now here he is refusing to go to school. (Pointing at the boy): Can I force him to go?'

Mother 3: 'My oldest boy is epileptic. (Pointing at the school): Here they beat him again and again so that he had very regular attacks. He started to hate school and at the end refused to go. I let him stay at home.'

Often villagers attribute indiscriminate beating to ethnic discrimination:

Ms. M: 'Some of the people from the East (BaTswana) do not care for BaKgalagari. Even school beginners get beaten by teachers and they end up refusing to go to school.'

#### **7.4.2 Many villagers perceive teachers' behaviour as misconduct, partly based on social distancing, often rooted in ethnic non-recognition:**

Mr. P. 'BaTswana teachers come and discriminate against BaKgalagari and BaSarwa children, therefore pupils are not free. Sometimes BaKgalagari

teachers are even worse. They have progressed and they now look down upon their own people.'

Three elders at the village kgotla:

1st Elder: 'There were meetings at school, parents complained about the beating, but thereafter it was still the same. Standard One pupils run.'

2nd Elder: 'Teachers are unhappy about parents appearing at school, they feel controlled. They speak badly to parents - they use bad language, they are tribalistic.'

3rd Elder: 'Women who pound at school complain about teachers' harsh treatment and beating, teachers beat pupils until parents come.'

2nd Elder: 'When parents complain to the head teacher, the teacher is not called to answer. Pupils are in fear, which is why they fail.'

3rd Elder: 'There is money for school maintenance, but the teachers disrespect our community, so they don't get anything repaired. There are so many broken windows. The pupils refuse to go to school because the classrooms are just too cold.'

A chiefs' wife: 'Some teachers do not attend classes regularly. Some are often seen during working hours in the village bar drinking (alcohol).'

Mother 4: 'The poor outfit of parents and pupils cause teachers to look down upon them, it makes them forget all what they have learnt at the Teacher Training Colleges.'

Mother 5: Teachers lose their care for the children because they now live a different lifestyle, they live in better houses and enjoy high salaries.'

Mr. K.: 'Pupils are sent around by teachers, they do household chores irrelevant to their education, they de-weed teachers' gardens, even the Standard Ones (first years).'

Mr. M.: 'Teachers are isolated at the teachers' quarters on the school premises. They fear villagers who they think may revenge for the beating of children.'

#### **7.4.3 Occasionally villagers report about pupils absconding from school because they were bullied by others:**

Mr. M.: 'Frequent drop-outs (children who leave school for sometimes more than a year to rejoin later) outgrow primary school age. They get frustrated and bully the small ones.'

#### **7.4.4 Some children refuse to go to school because of lack of decent clothing:**

Mother 7: 'Pupils drop out of school because of poverty. They have no warm clothes, no decent clothes; they feel ashamed and finally leave school.'

Ms F: 'Some people who should be registered for destitute assistance packages (including school uniforms) are not registered. They are not informed enough to apply for financial assistance. Destitute assistance procedures are complicated, so some miss out on that.'

Policelady: 'Destitute help is too slow. There is a vicious cycle: no school education, no 'Omang' (national identity card), no help. Strange enough, even some JC leavers (class 10) are in this situation, which is embarrassing.'

Ms S: 'The officers responsible for handing out goods to the Remote Area Dwellers were too slow in supplying children with school uniforms and shoes. This causes humiliation to the children, especially at the Junior Secondary School, which is situated in the bigger village Legonono. They are embarrassed to be seen in their primary school uniforms and on bare feet at secondary school. Children from other tribes, who are sponsored by their own families, often mock the BaSarwa children. These children end up leaving school and going back to their home village. My youngest son is now back at home for that reason! The Rural Area Dweller Officer (RADO) responsible for provision of uniforms and other benefits does not do his job!'

#### **7.4.5 Parents of hostel-children complain bitterly about the conditions at the hostels:**

Mother 8: 'At the hostels in Kgabaleng there is lack of care. Children don't get enough clothes, food and toiletries. Children of different ages have to share one house (room). There is no care especially at night, older children bully younger ones, by taking their blankets for example when it's cold.'

Mr S: 'The service in hostels is poor. Caretakers leave children alone at night. The children have no help in case there is trouble at night. Girls fall pregnant at the hostels due to poor security. School employees, e.g. the security officer and teachers sleep with girls. This makes caretakers blackmail-able, so some boys also sleep with girls. Even some village men have relationships with girls. At home girls are safer than in hostels. Pupils should also be taught and guided so they stay safe and avoid

pregnancy. The teachers do not care for the children; they do not take their work seriously.'

#### **7.4.6 Parents expressed additional thoughts concerning school**

Ms M: 'Pupils fail because they fear teachers. I experienced failing at school myself until I got one good teacher, a teacher I did not fear. He opened my ears! In the class of a good teacher you relax and open your mind.'

Mother 9: 'My son is good at playing the guitar. It is really amazing how the boy can compose meaningful songs and poems, make guitars (out of tins and strings) and play the songs beautifully on it! If you listened to the boy playing music you would think he is clever. However, if you see him at school you will realize in fact how dull he is. At a kgotla meeting parents accused the teachers of tribal discrimination: looking down upon the pupils and oppressing them. I don't know how true the oppression allegations are, but strangely, children seem to be dull when they are at school, but they behave normally when they are in the village.'

Young lady: 'The problem is lack of pre-school preparations. Children should be taken through a pre-school program before they get to school which will prepare them for school and introduce them to English and Setswana.'

#### **7.4.7 Summary**

Parents and other villagers have the impression that teachers and caretakers working at the hostels discriminate against their children. They perceive this discrimination as social and ethnic discrimination. They see the discrimination shown through lack of general care for the children, poor teaching and indiscriminate beating of children, lack of school-building maintenance, and lack of security at the hostels, unreliable supply of

pupils' destitute rations (uniforms and food) and through the demonstration of arrogant attitudes by teachers towards villagers.

## **7.5 Interviews: Village Chiefs**

Seventeen chiefs from the eleven villages included in my research work were interviewed. Eleven chiefs were village chiefs, the six others were sub-chiefs or headmen for a village ward. I opened the interviews by stating that pupils in their village had poorer academic results and higher school drop-out rates than pupils in the rest of the country. I either let the conversation develop freely solely based on that statement or, if need be, I asked for the interviewees' opinion of what might be the cause for this situation.

Nine chiefs stressed their opinion that 'parents do not know the value of education'. This fact, they believe, contributes to high drop out rates and poor results, as parents fail to support their children's school performance. The phrase 'parents do not know the value of education' is used in a quite stereotypical manner, which makes me believe that the phrase had been picked out as a central theme during local authority workshops. Interestingly, the phrase is used by chiefs in two contrasting ways:

Six chiefs use it to excuse parents by putting it into context with the fact that many parents have never been to school and hence cannot know school procedures, school routines and the benefits arising from education:

A sub-chief: 'The vast BaSarwa population does not know the value of education. They have never been to school themselves. They have never experienced the benefits of being educated. That's why the enrolment at our school is low.'

Village chief: 'Parents are not educated, so they are not able to help their children.'



Three chiefs use the phrase in an accusing manner, adding that parents do not care for their children:

A sub-chief: 'More cooperation between teachers and parents could help improve education, but I am sceptical: Parents are not prepared to contribute, they do not value education.'

Village chief: 'I try to make parents aware of the value of education. Some listen, others don't. They drink too much alcohol and do not care to send their children to school.'

The same three chiefs who accuse parents of not valuing education praise the teachers or the head teacher of their village school:

Village chief: 'The teachers are doing their best to educate the children. The teachers do not beat the children. Not at all.'

Village chief: 'The running of the school is quite pleasing. The head teacher does a good job.'

Nine chiefs accuse the teachers of neglecting their duties, of ill-treating the children, of excessive beating and tribal discrimination, which leads to poor school performance and school drop-outs:

Village chief: 'The reason for poor PTA (Parents-Teacher-Association) attendance is that parents, as common people, feel disrespected or belittled by teachers.'

Village chief: 'As for the drop-out problem, pupils are not treated well at school. They are beaten. Teachers are from the eastern part of the country (BaTswana) and they have negative attitudes towards pupils. They don't care.'

Village chief: 'Teachers discriminate against children as they are not from the same tribe as them.'

Village chief: 'The teachers, who are often from the eastern part of Botswana, speaking Setswana and English, lack understanding. They take the local children to be dull, they often treat them roughly.'

Village chief: 'Too many lessons are just not taught.'

Six chiefs see high drop-out rates caused by early pregnancies. Partly they blame the desire for premature sexual activities for this problem, partly lack of security at pupils' hostels, resulting in girls being forced into sex:

A sub-chief: 'The children are uncontrollable. They take drugs; they take alcohol and go for entertainment all night, girls fall pregnant.'

Village chief: 'Caretakers (at hostels) cannot be relied on. As you can see, girls fall pregnant and small ones run away from school.'

A sub-chief: 'Even older children are in danger of getting lost when sent to hostels far away from home. Girls fall pregnant, caretakers terrorise children.'

### **Chiefs make suggestions for improvement of the schooling situation:**

#### **PTA-meetings at the *kgotla***

Village chief: 'PTA meetings could better be held at other venues in the village to attract parents who may feel intimidated when they have to go to school.'

Village chief: 'If the PTA was good it would not only meet at school, they would have their meetings here at the *kgotla* (traditional official village meeting

place), informing the committee about what ever is going on at school; especially the problems such as children's poor attendance and performance. When there are teachers who are known to be lazy... we should see the PTA calling those particular teachers to make them account for their lack of performance.'

### **Alternative vocational training**

Village chief: 'There are no chances for alternative education, places to train children and youth in sports or handicrafts.'

Village chief: 'People need other courses: those who are unsuccessful in school should be given a chance to do courses for crafts and the like. May be people could at least be sent to driving schools or so. So, at the least they can get a job.'

### **Teacher supervision and training**

Village chief: 'Some teachers are not trained properly, they work with emotions. When they do not understand the pupils, they beat them. Teachers should be trained to understand pupils, to understand the nature of a child. Teachers must have sympathy, empathy and generosity. They should have patience. Non-formal teachers, who teach adults, are often better than primary school teachers because they teach with respect. Primary school teachers should learn to teach with respect. Primary school teachers should respect learners. A person learns best if he/she can say, "*hee wareng?*" [wait a minute, what did you just say?]. But in Primary school questions are one-sided. Those who know (the teachers) always ask the question and those who don't know (the pupils) always have to give the answers. They are not given a chance to ask!'

Village chief: 'Supervision by higher authorities is lacking.'

A sub-chief 'He/she (poorly trained teacher) does not know how to kneel down and pick children at the point where they stand, at their level. He/she thinks if they speak English, the children will soon follow. That poor teacher is very surprised when children fail! The children miss developing a good foundation and when they reach standard seven they fail the examination. The problem could lie with the education authorities. There is lack of supervision. The schools fail but you never see authorities coming here to investigate why children fail.'

### **Summary:**

Three chiefs show absolute loyalty towards the government. They praise the government's efforts to provide education for their children and praise the schools for putting the government's policies into good practice. They accuse the parents of jeopardizing the government's efforts by refusing to attribute value to education and by failing to support the teaching staff.

The other chiefs also acknowledge in general the government's efforts to provide education, but they reflect more critically on the situation in their villages.

As a main cause for poor school performance and attendance the chiefs identify the social gap between villagers and teachers. They attribute the gap to tribal differences and to differences in social status, whereby the first often presupposes the latter. In their view, the tribal non-recognition results in teachers neglecting their duties, ill-treating (beating) the pupils excessively and discriminating against villagers.

The chiefs explain that the villagers' low level of involvement in school activities results from a lack of insight into school requirements due to the fact that many villagers have

never attended any school. Parents often feel intimidated by teaching staff; hence they fail to attend meetings at school. Some chiefs suggest holding PTA meetings at the village '*kgotla*' to help parents overcome the fear of addressing teachers.

Some chiefs suggest introducing supervision and training of teaching staff to supply teachers with necessary skills of teaching children with a different tribal (language) background, but also to prevent them from neglecting their duties and from ill-treating children. In addition, a few chiefs like to see the syllabus extended to vocational training which could supply pupils with skills that allow them to find employment.

Chiefs from villages within hostel-schools' catchment areas accuse the hostel caretakers of ill-treating the children and failing to offer necessary security. They suggest building lower primary schools (standard one to four) in remote settlements to allow children up to the age of at least ten to live at home and not to be sent to hostels.

## **7.6 Researcher's Observations at Schools**

I observed pupils' behaviour and treatment in class and the general state and atmosphere at school. I found it difficult to follow the self-imposed rules of observations. Hence, most observations were made while carrying out other activities and captured subsequently in writing.

### **Pupils are left alone without a teacher**

In all schools I observed that remarkably often pupils are left alone without a teacher. Not only are teachers absent because of sick leave, more often lessons are not taught because teachers attend to other matters: Official and non-official meetings are conducted during teaching hours, teachers return late from weekend trips to town or major eastern villages and teachers attend funerals or weddings for several days in other villages.

Even if teachers were present and available for teaching, in many schools I found them frequently leaving their pupils alone to chat with colleagues outside the classroom or to spend some time at their residential houses.

### **Pupils are subjected to excessive corporal punishment**

In all schools the use of the stick to punish pupils was evident. I observed severe beatings for alleged pupils' poor performance or minor misconduct. As corporal punishment for minor 'offences' is outlawed in Botswana, teachers try to hide beatings from visitors. The following observation in Lehatja during term 1 2005 illustrates one situation:

'Ms S. went back to her year two classroom. I picked up my laptop from the car and decided to sit in the head teacher's office to check the questionnaire before I could print it out. Obviously Ms S. did not realise that I was sitting next door. I heard her talking loudly and unfriendly to the children, scolding them for being too slow to understand. Then I heard the loud cracks, whooshes and bangs of a stick lashing (on children's backs?). I heard the teachers loud voice shouting in Setswana language; "Why do you use your finger to erase, don't you see what a mess that makes? What do you think erasers are there for? Answer me..." Woosh... and ... bang! Bang! I heard the first little voice of a child crying out loudly and then I heard some more whooshes...and repeated bangs; two other children started to cry loudly. Ms S. told them to go and make that noise outside her classroom; she was shouting really loudly, repeatedly ordering the pupils to get out! I heard the children crying right at the door of the room where I was sitting. I had to control my anger and hurt. I felt a lump in my throat.'

I made a similar observation in Legonono during term 1 2005:

‘As I approached the classroom I realised that children were silent and I heard the whooshes and bangs of a stick. Ms G. was deeper in the room telling someone off and beating her. The girl gave a little shout whenever the stick hit her. I quietly peeped into the classroom and the children murmured with excitement, waiting for their teacher to see me; and for me to say something. I greeted in Setswana. Miss G. was startled. She stood there frozen with her stick still raised up and looking at me. I said nothing but just watched her. Her hand lost tension and the stick flopped down. Ms G. instructed her ‘victim’ to go and sit down. Then she said to me that the girl had failed to answer a simple question asked in Setswana language! The girl, of BaSarwa ethnicity, walked slowly to her seat repeatedly sniffing.’

### **Pupils are subjected to embarrassment and humiliation**

I hardly ever observed a teacher praising pupils for good performance. I instead witnessed several incidents of teachers ridiculing and humiliating children: exhibiting and mocking work of apparent poor performance, physically, harshly pushing children into place, insulting pupils for untidy appearance, and calling them lazy and un-civilized.

One example of ethnic prejudice and stereotyping I observed in Legonono:

‘The Standard four BaSarwa girl S., a boarder, showed obvious symptoms of illness: She had dry lips, was lethargic, shaky and showed a dull face. Her teacher, Ms. G., had not noticed the girl’s ill health. As the girl became weaker and started to rest her head on the table I decided to take her to the nearby hostels, where her room was. On the way to the hostels I met the teacher Mr. H. chatting with the hostel matron (during teaching hours). He asked me “has she been fighting again?” After I



explained that she was not feeling well the matron commented laughing “she is suffering of snuff-withdrawal symptoms.” Some older girls accompanied S. to her room while I went back to Ms. G’s class. After the lesson I went back to the hostels. When I asked the matron about S’s well being, she did not know. She did not even know in which room the girl was, she had never checked on her since I had left an hour before. S. is a girl I learned to know a bit better as I had interviewed her and I had visited her home twice to interview her parents. S. is neither a girl who fights nor a girl who takes snuff.’

### **Pupils are deprived of meals**

In two schools pupils were sent home at lunch break because there was no food to be given to the children at school. For some children this situation has severe consequences: The school meal is their only meal during the day, no food will be available for them at home, and hence they will have to return back to school hungry. One of the schools was a boarding school. Pupils who live in hostels don’t even have the opportunity to reach their homes hoping to find something to eat.

### **There is lack of maintenance and supply**

In nine schools the level of school maintenance was poor. Most disturbingly, classroom windows and doors were broken, causing a bitter cold draught in winter in the classrooms for children who were often poorly dressed. The toilets for children were in an appalling state. In some schools they could not be used at all, leading to pupils using the surroundings as a toilet-substitute. Late and/or insufficient supply of teaching material and teachers who were unable or unwilling to improvise often contributed to poor quality lessons.

### **Hostels are overcrowded, lacking hygiene and security**

As a general condition, hostels in the schools involved in the research are overcrowded, the buildings are in a poor condition with broken doors and windows and there is lack of cleanliness. At one school between 18 and 24 girls share a room which is equipped with five double beds, most of which are broken. Hence, two to three girls share one mattress placed on the floor, a situation in which diseases e.g. common fungal infections and tuberculosis are likely to spread easily. In addition, doors and windows of some hostels were broken offering intruders easy access to the girls' rooms. The hostel's ablution system was blocked, overflowing sewage covered part of the surrounding area. The poor conditions at the hostels seem to further persist even up to now; I quote a report in Mmegi (2007):

Dr Chebane repeated the call to do something about "hostile hostels" because they cause de-culturalisation and the schools alienate and discriminate against them [the boarding children]. The hostel policy remains a failure. One of the most glaring examples of this failure can be found in the policies of local government and education on the 35 primary school hostels (p.1.).

### **Villagers are treated disrespectfully by teachers**

The following observation at Lehatja during term three in 2004 explains how villagers feel disrespected by teachers:

'The parents attributed the drop-out rate to the negative attitudes of the teachers towards the rural area dwellers who are of the so-called minor tribes. To prove their point, the parents pointed out to me that it was habitual for the teachers to come late for parent-teacher meetings, which the teachers themselves had scheduled. By then the time was already 14:30hrs, the meeting had been scheduled at 14.00 hrs. There were five parents and no single teacher. I used the chance to mention the boy S. and asked whether he wasn't now fit to go back to school. I was told that the boy was epileptic and that school was just too harsh for some one with that condition. They believe that when teachers get angry at

the boy, shout at him or even beat him, he would get an epileptic attack. That the chief and his wife took their grandchild away from school seemed quite understandable for the villagers (the mentioned chief is one of the chiefs who denies that children are beaten at school).

In the meantime a council van had arrived, loaded with two new metal gates and some building materials for the maintenance of the school fence. Two men climbed out of the van and joined our group. A lady appeared across the empty sandy plane used as school sporting grounds. She was neatly dressed and had a modern hair style. The parents told me to watch how slowly the teacher walks, they even said that she was probably not going to even bother to come and greet them (us) and see what the guests in the council van wanted. When I asked why the lady would ignore us, I was told that she and others look down upon the people from the village and people of the 'minor tribes'. Indeed the teacher came slowly, passed near by without greeting us. She went into a classroom, went out again, passed a couple of meters behind us and disappeared behind the loaded vehicle. The driver of the vehicle complained; he needed to be shown where to unload the material so that he could drive back the sandy road to Lerula, 150 km south east of the village. The handy man who had come to stay and repair the fence joked; "The teachers have probably smelt that all guests here are Bakgalagari and Basarwa (Bushmen), therefore unimportant." All of us laughed. Finally, at 14:50hrs, other teachers appeared and drifted in our direction.'

### **Pupils experience intimidation, but also develop coping mechanisms**

During my first contacts with pupils in all schools most children are extremely shy and intimidated. They hardly talk to me and cover their faces when addressed. Many pupils show the same attitude towards their teachers. After a relatively short time of talking to the pupils in their mother tongue Shekgalagari and addressing them in a welcoming and familiar 'Shekgalagari-homy' manner the children lose increasingly their shyness. They

become more responsive, willing to answer questions and willing to contribute to the lesson. I attribute this opening to the pupils' realization that I pose no threat to them at all: Neither verbally through intimidation or through causing embarrassment, nor physically through the use of a stick.

Several times, at different schools, I experienced a situation where pupils had been left alone in the classroom or in the hostels. Interestingly, in most situations the children demonstrated an astonishing high level of self-organization:

Girls at hostels had agreed on rules for keeping the rooms tidy and for dealing with each other. The rules were displayed at the wall and the appearance of the room as well as the tone of the girls' communication proved that the rules were obviously fairly followed.

Another example of successful self organization was given by several standard four classes. During the absence of a teacher they carried out self-imposed exercises in Mathematics or in English, one class organized a three day clay-work-activity, another class carried on with an activity I had initiated, after I had left.

I attribute this relatively high level of self-organization to an eagerness to improve daily life and performance independent from teachers' and caretakers' support, which must be perceived as unreliable by pupils. In two cases pupils even organized classroom activities in the presence of a teacher, simply ignoring her frequent admonitions and obviously perceiving her interference as disturbing rather than supportive or threatening.

## **7.7 Researcher's Observations at Homes**

All villagers contacted thankfully accepted the idea of being involved in discussions and also activities to improve the situation at the village primary school. Once the purpose of my research was communicated to the villagers I was warmly welcomed. Villagers obviously found themselves trapped in a catch-twenty-two-situation, eager to see their children getting educated as a prerequisite to find later employment, at the same time

desperate to protect their children from ill-treatment and cultural discrimination at schools and hostels. As a MoKgalagari, but also a teacher trainer from town, I was obviously perceived as a mediator between their culturally Shekgalagari homes and the culturally Setswana school.

Most homes were characterized by extreme poverty. The only reasonably decent clothing I saw was often children's school uniforms. Most houses were round loam huts closed by flimsy wooden doors or mere sacks. Some walls were just made of sticks allowing wind, dust and rain to penetrate easily. Many villagers showed signs of malnutrition. The attitude of adults towards children was mostly remarkably caring. Children very often cuddled up to the elders as we talked, enjoying being caressed. I hardly ever observed any reprimanding; I never observed any beating at homes. At some homes there was evidence of alcohol abuse. At many homes I discovered signs of ill health indicative of HIV infections in villagers.

## **7.8 Standard Four Pupils' Level of Academic Performance**

The pupils' level of understanding English and Setswana decreased with the distance of the school to the district capital Molepolole. At remote schools with a higher percentage of BaSarwa pupils hardly any communication with the children in the two official languages was possible. The pupils also lacked basic skills of e.g. using scissors, knowing names of colours or being familiar with basic communal-administrative services.

## **7.9 Observed Attempts to Improve the Situation**

In two primary schools, Kgalong and Lekgalo, I observed successful attempts to improve the situation. In both schools the head-teachers had initiated and guided the attempts. They had both contacted individual villagers and village development committees in order to keep the school surrounding in a pleasing condition, to maintain

the school buildings and to contact families of pupils who had absconded from school. Consequently, the school yards looked tidy and beautified by flowers and stone walls; there were neither broken windows nor broken doors in the schools; pupils' toilets were clean; the staffrooms were tidy and functional. The head-teachers' efforts seemed to have a positive effect on the teachers who seemed to be more caring, in one of the schools I observed no beatings (even though a stick was present in the classroom), teachers attended their lessons well prepared and showed more empathy towards the pupils than in the other schools. One of the two schools managed to achieve the best results in the Standard Four Attainment Tests of the region.

## **7.10 Summary**

In the Kweneng West Sub-District an obvious cultural gap between villagers and the primary schools has developed.

Teachers are burdened with the discomfort of living in a remote area. They are cut off from their families and friends; they cannot easily access facilities like banks, shops, places of entertainment and recreation; they claim to lack chances of further training through workshops and libraries (it is worth noting that one of the intervention schools has a good library and in spite of the teachers' complaints we have often observed that teachers in all the schools are often away attending workshops). Generally, villages lack infrastructure like reliable public transport, reliable telephone connection, reliable electricity and water supply. Teachers are ill prepared and educationally ill equipped to teach children with another mother tongue apart from Setswana. Analyses of the national curriculum and the examinations in standard four and seven reveal that the difficulty of teaching children with a different cultural background is not considered when national examinations in standard four and seven are compared at national level, placing the overall performance of the schools in the sub-district at the bottom of national performance tables, making the teachers appear as failures. (This is in exception of the

odd occasion, in which one of the schools in the region may obtain comparatively good results).

Teachers have developed the tendency of projecting the blame on the villagers, the children as well as the parents. They perceive the villagers as lazy, uncooperative, ignorant and even hostile towards teachers and caretakers. Some teachers turn to resignation, neglecting their duties to the extent of not attending lessons and refusing to offer basic care for children. They also turn to aggression, humiliating the children through causing embarrassment and through excessive beating.

The villagers perceive the teachers' and caretakers' attitude as hostile. They attribute this hostility to ethnic discrimination. Most pupils share this view, they recalcitrantly express ethnic pride. I observed examples of children who had given up relying on teachers' or caretakers' support and had quite successfully begun to regulate their hostel life and classroom activities through self-determination. Simultaneously, other pupils have internalized the marginalization, they view themselves as inferior, and particularly in regard to attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgments, they self-attribute negatively.

In the two schools where teachers and villagers had found a way of cooperation teachers showed more responsibility towards their duty, they proved to be more caring and more enthusiastic in finding solutions to improve the situation.



## **8 Implementing Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE)**

Based on the corroborated assumption that a cultural gap exists between the schools and the research communities, I describe and evaluate in this chapter the steps taken to introduce ICAE: a preparatory meeting with the school management team, a workshop held for the teaching staff, meetings with the coordinators to introduce and support the implementation of the research idea, contacting cultural practitioners and introduce them to the idea of ICAE and finally teaching ICAE model lessons.

The research is based on the following premise: firstly, that the prevailing inefficiencies in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum and secondly, that Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE) bears the potential to bridge the existing cultural gap between school and community, thereby alleviating problems associated with cultural alienation, which contributes to low school attendance and high dropout rates of ethnic minority pupils as well as their low academic performance.

The analysis of the pre-intervention data provided some evidence to strengthen the first premise: a cultural gap seemed to exist between the communities and the schools with negative effects on pupils' treatment by teachers and caretakers, on their self assessment, their academic performance, school attendance and consequently on their personal and social development. This outcome encouraged me to introduce elements of ICAE in six schools in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana in order to find out whether ICAE bears the potential to alleviate problems associated with cultural alienation. I had planned the following interventions:

1. Meeting with the school management team to introduce the research idea
2. Conducting a workshop with school staff on the topic 'Cultural Clashes'

3. Holding three meetings during term one, three during term two and one during term three with Std 4 teachers (coordinators) to introduce and explain the project idea, to encourage them to conduct ICAE lessons, to offer guidance and reinforcement and to observe lessons taught by coordinators with the help of a cultural practitioner
4. Identify local cultural practitioners, explain to them the project idea, introduce and connect them to the coordinators

## **8.1 Introducing ICAE to the School Management Team**

I had already contacted the head teachers of all twelve schools in 2004 and gained their approval for their schools' participation in the research. The first two weeks after schools had opened in 2005 I visited all schools again to meet the school management team in order to introduce my research idea and to decide on the classes and teachers to be involved in ICAE. My idea to ask for teachers to volunteer to act as coordinators in the six intervention schools failed as in three schools there was only one standard four class, hence this class teacher was the only possible teacher to coordinate my project at the school; in two other schools there were two standard four classes, but at the beginning of the first term only one standard four teacher; in one school both standard four teachers decided to combine two classes and teach in cooperation; this situation left the standard four teachers in all schools with no choice but to function as coordinators in my research programme if the school was to be included in my research. I was lucky that all seven teachers expressed their willingness to participate.

## **8.2 Workshop with Teachers: 'Cultural Clashes'**

The first workshop 'Cultural Clashes' with teachers was at Lerula Primary School. Even though I had announced my visit verbally and in writing long in advance, the staff members were not informed and therefore unprepared for the meeting. It took a long time for all teachers to come to the library, which functioned as a staff room. Some

teachers were busy carrying out other duties while attending the meeting; they left the room frequently or discussed other matters while I was conducting the workshop.

I initially did not manage to get the teachers involved in participating by taking notes and discussing experiences. Therefore, as a compromise, I lectured about the topic 'Cultural Clashes'.

I introduced cultural clashes as events whereby both parties act in good faith but are mutually misinterpreted. I gave the example of pupils of BaSarwa or BaKgalagari ethnicity who have learned at home that looking at an adult's face is interpreted as disrespect. A teacher might, in contrast, interpret the tendency NOT to look at the adult who is addressing the child as disrespect and demand 'look at me when I talk to you', asking the child, in its own view, to be impolite with the effect that the stronger the teacher's demand is expressed, the further down the child's face moves. I tried to emphasise that often cultural clashes cause conflicts functionally, but not intentionally. My research assistant and I dramatised common 'cultural clashes' in the simple processes of a hand-shake in greetings between Batswana and people from the UK or Germany: the former will tend to hold the hand of the other a little longer trying to make particular hand turning movements which are part of the greeting ceremony, while the latter aims to lightly touch and immediately let go of the other one's hand. The teachers watched with amusement while we acted the greeting and many wanted to try out the 'conflicting hand-shake'. Some reported of incidents when they encountered this sort of minor cultural misunderstanding. One lady said she initially felt a little offended when a visitor from a European country pulled back the hand abruptly while she was trying to extend a friendly and welcoming handshake. At the time of the incident, she told us, she thought the visitor was somehow disgusted by the feel of her hand.

From that moment on most teachers listened attentively, they obviously recognised cultural clashes which they had experienced previously without attributing them as such. My impression was that the 'workshop' had an eye-opening effect on some teachers;

they participated actively in following discussions. As I explained the idea of ICAE and my approach of introducing elements of ICAE in one standard four class of their school, nearly all teachers indicated their approval of the idea and their support for its implementation.

I made similar experiences in most other schools. Independent reflection on their relationship with pupils and adult villagers obviously overtaxed most teachers. My 'workshop' was held at four schools principally as a lecture, but fortunately it always progressed towards active participation in form of an open discussion. I perceived clearly that my input had an 'aha-effect' on most teachers as towards the end of the sessions many gave examples of 'cultural clashes' they had experienced or they cited conflicts prompting an open analytic discussion to determine whether these conflicts could be attributed as cultural clashes.

Most teachers clearly appreciated the concept of ICAE and assured me of their support - except most teachers in Legonono. At Legonono attendance to the workshop was lowest of all the schools; neither we nor the head teacher had been able to convince all teachers to remain in school beyond the teaching hours for this event. Lack of collegial cooperation up to open animosity between some staff members was evident in this school. The head teacher of Legonono expressed deep doubts about the success of my research project as he claimed that the villagers were not prepared to make a voluntarily contribution to the education of their children. He prompted roars of laughter amongst the staff as he gave an account of how a group of villagers, who regularly visited school for some committee meeting, had abruptly stopped coming when governmental funds for tea and biscuits for this occasion were exhausted. The head teacher jeopardised my efforts towards the end of the session by making some more sarcastic, insulting, ethnic discriminating remarks about pupils and the villagers. This temporarily united the usually deeply divided teaching staff, preventing the occurrence of my aspired aha-effect and preventing open approval of my research idea.

In Lekgalo, the workshop developed differently. The teachers had prepared a list of questions, had noted ideas as contributions for conducting the research and handed over a list with names of villagers they deemed suitable to be involved in classroom teaching. One teacher in this school voluntarily ran supplementary classes in which he attended to children's special learning needs; the head teacher was highly supportive of this initiative. The same teacher indicated the need to organise a 'holiday school' for local pre-school children, who are predominately of BaSarwa ethnicity, in order to introduce them to the daily procedures of schooling and to familiarise them with the languages of instruction, Setswana and English.

### **8.3 Meetings with Coordinators in Term One**

In addition to briefing all staff members about my research work and especially about 'cultural clashes' I held my first meeting with coordinators at the end of each staff meeting and discussed methods of conducting lessons in cooperation with cultural practitioners. I especially emphasised that the following should be considered:

- a) The cultural practitioners should be suitable,
- b) the topic should fit into the syllabus,
- c) the activity should be used as an introduction of a subject integrating project and
- d) the coordinator should assist the cultural practitioners and support learners throughout the lesson.

I held two more meetings with coordinators in term one to further explain the project idea, to offer guidance and reinforcement and to observe lessons taught by coordinators with the help of a cultural practitioner.

#### **8.3.1 Observation of lesson taught by coordinator**

In the first term in 2005 I visited each of the six research schools two more times to support coordinators in implementing ICAE. During the first of these visits I spent a morning with the coordinator in the classroom. I observed the pupils to find out how

they respond to their teacher's way of teaching, to find out their level of understanding in various subjects as well as their competency in the languages used as media of instruction. I also took note of interpersonal relationships among pupils. All classrooms I observed were predominately arranged in 'traditional style' catering for 'chalk and talk teaching'. Pupils sat in rows, all were facing the front. The atmosphere was mostly tense, with the teacher lecturing and formally asking questions, expecting children to raise hands and to wait until they are called to answer. Often the pupils seemed either too shy or unable to answer. In most schools the teachers blamed this non-response on the pupils, claiming they had not paid attention while they were taught or claiming the children were 'heavy'.

### **8.3.2 Activity initiated involving pupils**

The last 30 minutes of the classroom teaching I was given the chance to address the children. I explained the purpose of my visit as finding out whether there were any cultural practitioners in their village who were willing to share their skills with pupils by coming to class to help teaching. When I asked pupils to help identify people from the community who could contribute to the teaching of the arts, I generally received an unpredicted positive response. Nearly all children in the class knew someone who they thought suitable to be invited to teach a skill, tell a story or lead a class activity. The children's responses provided me with the chance to identify their interests in what they were keen to learn. Thereafter I asked children to think of any traditional game, song, story, craft work or poem to prepare for presentation in class the following day. The children were encouraged to also ask family members to assist them prepare an activity. There was no restriction as to whether they worked as individuals, in pairs or in groups of any size.

The following day I spent the first lesson in the class to see the children's responses. Giving them the freedom to choose the content to be learnt and giving them the responsibility for their own learning proved extremely successful. In all the six



intervention schools all children participated actively in this exercise. Here I must highlight the fact that active contribution was entirely voluntary. Some pupils undertook individual tasks such as presenting a poem or telling a story in front of the whole class while others worked in pairs or groups presenting items such as wire cars, clay models and dolls (see appendix E, a child proudly displaying a handmade doll), that they had made and explaining in steps how they produced these items. In all cases we observed whole class involvement by the end of the lesson. The most popular whole group activities in all schools were singing and dancing.

### **8.3.3 Exchange of Ideas with Coordinators**

In the afternoons I met with the coordinators to explain the idea of ICAE and to encourage them to contact cultural practitioners from the village who might be suitable for being involved in ICAE.

All coordinators appeared a bit helpless and reluctant to locate and contact cultural practitioners. I suggested involving colleagues, pupils and PTA members in finding villagers who had skills and/or knowledge which might be suitable for being included and utilised in teaching. I realised that most teachers feared going to villagers' homes; some feared for their security, others for loss of authority. Most teachers suggested inviting envisaged villagers for a meeting on the school premises. As I found it important for teachers to gain insight in their pupils' home situations I offered to accompany the teachers to some villagers' homes. Three coordinators accepted the offer. The visits proved to be door openers as all three coordinators contacted and cooperated with villagers afterwards even in my absence. Three other coordinators never contacted villagers at their homes and never invited villagers for teaching. In Lerula the coordinator did not find time to accompany me to the village but went on her own to contact a carver with whom I had negotiated cooperation before.



### **8.3.4 Observing a Lesson Involving a Cultural Practitioner**

I contacted the coordinators a third time in term one to observe a lesson taught in cooperation with a cultural practitioner.

- In two schools the coordinators had invited a villager to help teaching a lesson.
- In two other schools the coordinators had not invited any cultural practitioner. I decided ad hoc to organise for a villager whom I had contacted before to come and demonstrate his/her skills to the class.
- In two other schools I could not observe any activities carried out by villagers as the coordinators had involved them in teaching before my visit. Both coordinators reported positively about the villagers' input and showed products (woven objects) from the lessons.

The first four ICAE lessons I observed confirmed some strengths of ICAE but also uncovered weaknesses to be addressed:

- Pupils were much more responsive and free to participate than I had perceived them previously in lessons taught solely by their teacher.
- Pupils who were considered academically weak especially gained from the activity.
- The coordinators were less autocratic and authoritarian. In three schools they got actively involved and engulfed in the resource persons' activities.
- The coordinators showed respect towards the cultural practitioners, admiring their skills.
- The cultural practitioners were patient and supportive towards the children, they introduced an element of calmness in the classroom.
- In one school, where three cultural practitioners demonstrated drama and dance, children were all fully engaged and, with the support of the villagers, they reached a high level of artistic expression.

- The teachers often left their role as teachers and saw themselves rather as pupils. They did not actively support and assist the cultural practitioner but rather participated in activities and/or observed them.
- Two teachers assumed that inviting a cultural practitioner actually meant free time for the class teacher, as they left the classroom or carried out other duties in the classroom.
- The teachers did not take notes, they did not utilise the activities for further lessons.
- The cultural practitioners in three schools concentrated too much on demonstrating their skills than on letting pupils experience and try.
- In the same three schools the cultural practitioners concentrated on a few pupils in their proximity and left other pupils unattended.

## **8.4 Identifying Cultural Practitioners and introducing them to the Idea of ICAE**

As we usually spent two days in each village we used the time after school to contact cultural practitioners who had been recommended to us by teachers, pupils or other villagers. In every village we met several cultural practitioners (between two and five) who were suitable and willing to participate in classroom teaching. I briefed the cultural practitioners who had already agreed with the coordinator to cooperate in arts activities about the idea of ICAE, I explained their role as facilitators and I discussed with them methods of conducting the sessions.

All cultural practitioners were willing, most even keen, to support the coordinators in teaching. A few villagers expressed their expectation to get paid for their contribution. I perceived most cultural practitioners as suitable to be involved in classroom teaching; with a few I had doubts as they seemed to be addicted to alcohol and/or vulgar in their communication.

## 8.5 ICAE Project Lessons Modelled by Researcher

The problems I had discovered when observing lessons taught by the coordinators with the support of local cultural practitioners triggered off my idea of teaching a model project in term II with me firstly acting as a cultural practitioner, afterwards acting as a teacher utilising the cultural practitioner's contribution. I informed the coordinators about the purpose of the model lessons, which was to demonstrate how a contribution by a villager could be utilised.

### **The model project consisted of the following steps:**

In the role of a villager I told pupils a Shekgalagari folk tale in their local language Shekgalagari, using typical Shekgalagari mimics and gestures and typical Shekgalagari habits like dramatising and involving the audience in dramatisation. Through introducing this 'Shekgalagari atmosphere' I hoped to reduce tension in the children, make them feel more comfortable in a homey situation and give them a chance to grasp the content of the story.

In the role of a teacher I asked pupils to mime selected parts of the story in groups of about four to five after practising outside. I used pantomiming as it allows the pupils to express (e-)motions without demanding verbal formulations neither in a language banished from school (Shekgalagari) nor in a language they don't yet master sufficiently (Setswana). I chose group work – also in following steps – to allow pupils to decide on their level of participation and contribution without risking embarrassment.

All children practiced and sang the Shekgalagari song which was part of the story. The song was combined with several illustrating and danced actions. I assumed that after a period of quiet and inhibited pantomiming the children needed this boisterous exercise of loud singing combined with exuberant jumping. In addition, I asked the children to introduce the song at their homes allowing the adults to recognise something familiar

offered in school, hoping hereby to contribute towards reduction of feeling alienated concerning school activities.

Each group was given a worksheet with a comprehension exercise in Setswana based on the part they had pantomimed. Again I decided on group work to allow individual pupils to decide on their level of input. All comprehension parts were read by a pupil of each group, adding up to the comprehended whole story.

Pupils worked out the message of the story first in groups, then in a class discussion in Setswana and noted it on the board, later they copied the message into their exercise books.

I showed pupils how to draw a background on an A1-sized manila paper. Thereafter pupils drew elements of their part of the story in groups, cut them out and pasted them on the prepared manila paper to make a collage. This part of explaining tasks I conducted in English, the official language of communication in standard four classes. Pupils displayed their collage pictures in the right sequence on the wall to illustrate the whole story. In groups pupils retold the whole story in Setswana guided by the pictures.

This model project covered seven periods of 45 minutes. It included two Setswana lessons with the topic 'comprehension', two Arts lessons with the topic 'drama', two Arts lessons with the topic 'collage' and one Music lesson with the topic 'traditional songs and dances'.

### **8.5.1 Story telling**

While I was conducting the lessons my research assistant took a place next to the coordinator at the back of the classroom, explained the steps, briefed them about their expected duties and encouraged them to assist me where need be. He showed the teachers paragraphs in the syllabus assuring them that by using the ICAE project, they would be covering items within the standard four syllabus. He also took notes about the

pupils' responses to the lessons. He frequently had to remind four of the seven coordinators (one of the six classes had two coordinators) that a major purpose of the whole exercise was to demonstrate to them as class teachers how to utilise a lesson taught with the assistance of a cultural practitioner. Four coordinators had to be called back to class: two excused themselves from attending the lessons to carry out other duties, two just left the classroom without any explanation; at some time each of the four was seen busy preparing other lessons in the classroom.

All seven coordinators found it difficult to separate the two roles I played, being a cultural practitioner from the village and being a teacher, even though I tried to make the difference clear through the languages I used and the gestures I performed. As a villager I spoke exclusively Shekgalagari showing Shekgalagari mimes and gestures and wearing a head scarf; as a teacher I spoke exclusively the two official languages English and Setswana and demonstrated a more formal attitude.

The coordinators watched my contribution in the role of a villager but also in the role of a teacher reserved and with amusement. Towards my assistant they frequently expressed that they found it difficult to present themselves and adopt attitudes towards the pupils as I did in the role of a teacher: They could not squat down on the floor with children; they could not appreciate children's non-formal contributions like skills acquired outside the school; they could not appreciate children's attempts to contribute if the outcome did not satisfy their expectations. The coordinators expressed their fear of losing respect and authority which they tried to maintain through keeping distance in all aspects to the children (and to the villagers) and to keep their expectations high on an academically measurable level. Due to the fact that the pupils' performance was very positive, but I assume also due to the fact that my research assistant and I are both known to be teacher educators in Botswana, the coordinators refrained from plainly rejecting our suggestions to adopting a more child centred attitude in class, but we realised that they needed a lot of professional guidance and support for this step.

The pupils' response to the first model lesson was very positive. They watched my performance attentively and participated actively in dramatising a few segments of the story, obviously enjoying that they understood the story with no problems as it had been told in Shekgalagari.

### **8.5.2 Drama lesson – miming**

When I asked the children to practise miming selected parts of the story in groups guided by a worksheet, they were very shy. They stood in groups in the school yard obviously uncertain about my expectations. Many children had not understood the guiding sentences written in Setswana on a worksheet, but even those who understood were obviously afraid of making (under 'normal' circumstances punishable) mistakes. My research assistant and I, and after a short briefing also the coordinators, joined groups of children to assist in 'getting started'. Two coordinators 'assisted' by warning the children to 'read and do what it says'. As they realised that my assistant and I were helping the children to understand the task by explaining and even participating in pantomiming, they also decided to read and explain the task to the pupils. Soon the pupils felt free to act, they tried and discussed in their groups means of pantomiming recognisable actions; they obviously had fun and enjoyed the exercise. The two coordinators mentioned above felt uncomfortable watching the children laughing and playfully teasing each other, they cautioned them to 'be more serious', but as they realised the ease and even encouragement my assistant and I demonstrated, they dared to let the children have fun.

Two coordinators left for the time of the exercise. The three other coordinators watched my and my assistant's attempts to encourage the children from the beginning; they adapted to our method and were quite supportive.

In the classroom the children showed very lively presentations. As they performed in groups, timidity and consequently low involvement and performance of a few pupils at

the beginning remained obscured, which again encouraged them later to dare participating in a more exposed manner. Considering the fact that formal communication in the classroom is hardly ever in the form of interactive discussion between pupils, but is usually a teacher initiated and directed one-to-one communication between her/him and individual pupils, I noticed with interest that pupils actively inter-communicated directly to decide on ways of performance and coordination. During the pantomime presentations, the audience spoke out freely their guessed interpretations of the actions; the actors directly affirmed or negated the answers. When the audience could not guess right, the acting group discussed in whispers how to clarify the pantomime movements before they could redo the scene.

### **8.5.3 Music Lesson: Song and Dance**

A few children knew the song and the dance which were part of the story. I encouraged the children to clap hands in order to adapt to the rhythm, to follow my movements in order to act-dance the content of the song and I asked children who knew the song to sing with me. After a few trials the majority of the class managed to produce the correct melody and the rhythm while performing adequate steps and movements. The children participated actively with a lot of enthusiasm and expressed excitement when asked to show the performance to their family members at home, to teach them the song and the dance and, in case people at home knew the song, to interview them in order to find out who taught them the song and at which occasion it was sung. Four coordinators participated in singing, one even in dancing. The three other coordinators watched the presentation without active participation.

### **8.5.4 Setswana lesson: Translation and Comprehension**

My assistant distributed one worksheet to each group of children with a guiding question in Setswana leading to a short comprehension of the part of the story the group had pantomimed. In the first school the worksheet contained three questions, but as I realised that this was expecting too much of the pupils I reduced to one question in the other



schools. In most groups one or two out of about six children per group took over the task of writing the comprehension on the worksheet, which consisted of between one and three sentences. All pupils, with only a few exceptions, participated in group discussions about how to formulate the comprehension. Sometimes groups called me to help with spellings, I encouraged the coordinators to join me in supporting the pupils with their exercise by helping to explain meanings and spellings of words. Three coordinators had no problems offering such support to the children. Four coordinators walked through the classroom looking at pupils work but rather reprimanded them for making mistakes in case of discovery than offering support. The groups decided on one child to read the comprehension. As they read in sequence of chronological succession, their cumulative contributions presented the whole story again.

Many children found it easy to understand the story in Shekgalagari, but they faced problems comprehending in Setswana. Often Shekgalagari expressions slipped in, but the groups managed mostly on their own, sometimes with my or the coordinators help, to replace them with Setswana expressions. Finally, in all schools the children managed to present the whole story in logical sequence and in correct Setswana.

#### **8.5.5 Setswana Lesson: Analysis, finding the Moral of the Story**

The following exercise required pupils, guided by a worksheet, to extract the message of the story in Setswana in their groups. In the first school I had realised that I overstretched the pupils' concentration span. There is no official break between 8.00 and 11.00, but I decided to allow the children a short 'extra break' at about 10.15 after the presentation of the comprehension, which I then decided to do at all schools depending on the pupils' level of concentration. Thereafter the children concentrated better on their task. Most pupils discussed in depth and groups ended up deciding on a message, but often the messages differed. In a class discussion the children developed between two and four messages, which they wrote on the chalk board and copied into their exercise books. The pupils, and more persistently the coordinators, asked me for the 'correct'

message. My remark that all messages were correct as they expressed the influence the story had on individuals was easily accepted by the children, less easily by the teachers. Four coordinators asked my assistant frequently for the 'correct' answer as they wanted to prevent the children from taking wrong notes; finally they accepted his explanation that the messages extracted reflected the pupils' perception of the story, hence forbade external judgement. Nearly all message-extractions showed deep reflection and understanding of the story.

#### **8.5.6 The Visual Art Lesson: Collage Making – Background Drawing, Item Drawing, Cutting and Pasting to Compose a Story Scenery**

The art exercise was conducted the following day. I first demonstrated to the pupils how to draw a background, thereafter I distributed A1 manila paper sheets and coloured chalk and asked the children to draw a background for their part of the story in groups. Timidly most children started drawing soft lines on their paper; only after I encouraged them verbally and by example to draw roughly in strong, careless and 'messy' movements, a few children dared rubbing the chalk hard on the paper. It took some time until all pupils enjoyed experimenting effects of drawing, applying differing levels of pressure and using different colours. All coordinators watched the exercise with interest, four tried to draw their own background, all appreciated having learned new drawing techniques.

In the first school I asked the groups to draw the main characters and elements of their section of the story, to cut the drawings and paste them on the background in order to produce a collage. I suggested that each child took over the task of producing one drawing, hence producing one element to be pasted on the background. This method was not successful: Most pupils failed to discuss and failed to decide on who was going to take over which task; most children restricted themselves to choosing items they felt comfortable drawing, with the least 'risk of making mistakes', items which often had no connection with the story. My assistant and I contacted each group to discuss the aim of the group work and to encourage individual pupils to take over tasks of drawing relevant

elements. The exercise consumed a lot of time and some children were disappointed by the results.

In the five other schools I produced word cards in advance with main story characters and significant items or symbols of the story. I gave each group a number of cards, equivalent to the number of pupils, which represented items of their part of the story and asked them to decide on who was going to draw which element or person.

In all six schools most pupils drew figures much too small and too detailed to be cut and pasted. My assistant and I and, after some explanation and demonstration, four of the seven coordinators helped the children by encouraging them to 'use space' and to simplify drawings, reducing details of the contour to the minimum. Some children only understood after trying and failing to cut out too small and detailed shapes, but finally, with some help, all pupils had produced a colourful item. The children placed their items on the background to produce the collage, firstly without using glue, which allowed them to discuss and to design the final product in group work. After this decision had been taken glue was applied and the collages displayed on classroom walls in sequential order, exhibiting the whole story as a 'picture story'.

During this exercise the children worked independently with high concentration. They got used to asking me for help and about half the groups managed to work in groups with equal division of tasks. In other groups two or three pupils took over the decision making, instructing other group members about their tasks and duties. The children tried to communicate with me in Shekgalagari, but as I responded in English, and as my assistant spoke no Shekgalagari and only little Setswana, the children soon tried to communicate with us in English, first shyly, soon excitedly, laughing about their attempts to pronounce English words correctly.

Three coordinators were quite helpful in supporting the children in their exercise. One of the three produced her own collage, encouraging the children to watch and to copy

techniques, two of the three coordinators sat with pupils in groups, sharing discussions of display, advising children to draw large and rather simple outlines and helping with smaller tasks like cutting and pasting.

Four coordinators were less helpful: One teacher produced an own collage, adapting the role of a pupil, half jokingly, but strictly in competition covering up his work to prevent children from ‘copying’ from him, telling them to go and do their own pictures so that they could see whose was the best. Three coordinators walked through the classroom looking at children’s work, partly criticising, partly making fun of their performance. My attempts to change the three coordinators attitude resulted in withdrawal.

## **8.6 First Meeting with Coordinators in Term Two**

After conducting the model project I met the coordinators in the afternoon to reflect on the model lessons and to assist in planning and conducting ICAE lessons.

- a) All coordinators expressed astonishment about the level of pupils’ involvement and contribution. All noted that especially pupils who were known to be ‘slow learners’ participated actively and successfully. Some coordinators remarked on pupils whose contribution they noticed for the first time ever, especially in non-verbal activities (pantomime).
- b) All coordinators mentioned gratefully having learned new methods and skills of implementing the new CaPA syllabus (drama, background drawing, collage).
- c) All coordinators anxiously asked for reconfirmation that the project was covered by the syllabus, hence does not disadvantage the pupils when writing the nationwide end of standard four attainment tests.
- d) Four coordinators expressed their worry about the fact that the cultural practitioners might communicate with the pupils in Shekgalagari, a language in which they lack competency, leaving them as the teacher not fully informed.

- e) Three coordinators expressed their fear that the demonstrated child centred approach might lead to pupils losing respect, getting too playful and lacking seriousness in their work.

I recalled the purpose of the exercise and advised the coordinators on the following procedural steps for conducting ICAE lessons:

- a) Already when doing scheme of work for the term, identify topics which may be suitable for cultural practitioners' involvement.
- b) Identify suitable cultural practitioners for selected topics at the beginning of the term with the help of pupils, colleagues and PTA members.
- c) Contact cultural practitioners right at the beginning of the term and agree on a time to meet to cooperatively plan the lesson and on a time for conducting the lesson; reconfirm the appointments a week before the meetings.
- d) Where possible, the lesson taught in cooperation with a cultural practitioner should be the basis for project teaching involving different subjects.
- e) Being aware that cultural practitioners are not trained in teaching, the conduct of the lesson remains the responsibility of the teacher who helps by providing teaching aids, decides on classroom organisation and ensures that the cultural practitioner's input is utilised for further lessons.

In addition I gave the coordinators methodological advice in conducting ICAE lessons:

- a) During the cultural practitioner's involvement pupils should be allowed to use any language.
- b) Where possible pupils should work in groups to avoid individual embarrassment and to allow pupils to independently decide on their level of involvement.
- c) Pupils' attempts should be appreciated, failures should not be criticised but should call for help and support.

I gave all coordinators names of cultural practitioners I had contacted in their village and encouraged them to continue planning lessons with the villagers' involvement. I gave the teachers my contact address and telephone number and I asked them to contact me in case they needed any help and support in conducting ICAE lessons.

## **8.7 Second Meeting with Coordinators in Term Two**

Conducting the model project lessons at all six intervention schools and in moderated form at all six comparator schools was a time consuming exercise. As I had met the coordinators twice for discussing the progress of the intervention during these three days I spent in the village I decided to meet them only once more shortly before the end of term two. One coordinator had taken all photos available in the disposable camera and was given a second one. This coordinator and a second coordinator reported about visits of cultural practitioners which they perceived as successful. Other coordinators had not managed to conduct lessons in cooperation with villagers; four in three schools gave lack of time as the reason, one coordinator reported about problems relating to establishing contacts and agreeing on appointments.

## **8.8 Meeting with Coordinators in Term Three**

When I visited the schools in term three I realised that teachers were very busy preparing for the nationwide standard seven examinations and for nationwide standard four attainment tests. No ICAE lessons had yet been conducted, but at three schools the coordinators had planned to invite local tribal authorities after the examinations to class to help introducing the topic 'tribal administration' as this topic fitted into the syllabus.

In my brief meeting with the coordinators I gave them two forms, one to be filled in with names of suitable cultural practitioners of the village and their skills, one with names of pupils in their class and their extra mural skills. My aim of asking coordinators for this favour was mainly to focus their attention rather on pupils' and villagers' strengths than

on weaknesses. All coordinators promised to fulfil this task and return the forms at my next visit.



## **9 Post Intervention data**

In this chapter I will introduce data collected after the intervention: first data collected from pupils, then data collected from teachers and finally data collected from the six coordinators separately. Pupils' data were recorded by means of questionnaires, interviews and observations. They were sub-divided into groups of boys and girls, pupils of BaSarwa, BaKgalagari and BaTswana ethnicity, pupils from intervention schools (schools aggregated and individually analysed) and pupils from comparator schools. The sub-groups were analysed separately and in comparison with each other. Results were also compared with the pre-intervention results. Teachers' data were recorded by means of questionnaires. Results from intervention schools and comparator schools were analysed as a whole and separately for comparison. The post-intervention results were compared with pre-intervention results. Responses obtained from coordinators by means of questionnaires, interviews, photographs taken and observations were analysed at a whole but also individually. In cases where results indicate developments influenced by the introduction of ICAE, these indications are recorded as questions within the chapter.

### **9.1 Pupils' Post Intervention Questionnaire Results**

In term three I asked the pupils of the standard four classes who participated in my research to fill in the same questionnaire they had filled in during term one. The first three control questions differed from the first questionnaire to avoid recognition of the questionnaire which might have tempted pupils into answering questions in accordance with the first task. The questionnaire answering procedure corresponded with the procedure in term one. In addition I observed pupils' academic performance, level of communication and attitude.

9.1.1 Results in Intervention Schools

The following results reflect answers given by 197 pupils in intervention schools only who took part in filling in both pre and post-intervention questionnaires.

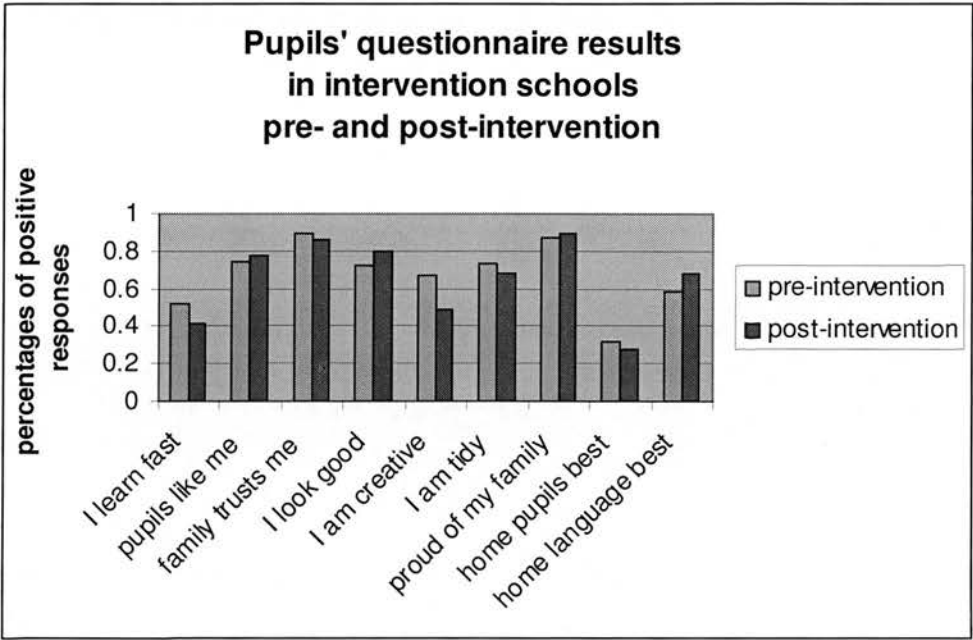


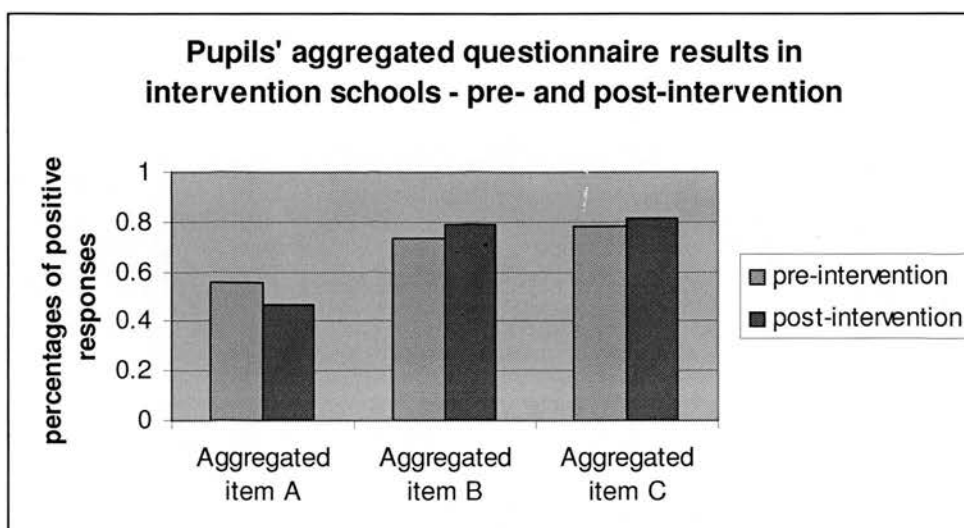
Figure 9-1: Pupils’ pre- and post-intervention results for all nine items ungrouped

The following numbers show post-intervention results in percentages, in brackets are the pre-intervention results. Six items relate to pupils’ self assessment: Only 41% - post intervention (52% - pre intervention) and 49% (66%) respectively of the children believed that they learn fast and that they are creative, 69% (74%) said that they are tidy and only 29% (32%) believed that ‘pupils in my home village are better than pupils in town’, but 80% (73%) said they look good and 77% (74%) of the pupils said they are liked by other children. Interestingly, percentages for the first four items, all assumed to be primarily judged by teachers, dropped while the level for the last two items, both assumed to be generally beyond the teachers’ judgment, rose.

Three items related to pupils' attitudes towards their homes: 86% (89%) stated that they are trusted by their families. 90% (87%) said they are proud of their families and 68% (58%) said that their home language (mostly Shekgalagari) is better than other languages.

As a result of the a priori aggregation I had combined items 4 (I learn fast), 7 (I look good), 8 (I am creative) and 9 (I am clean and tidy) as I believed them to express the pupils' self assessment. Results of the pre-intervention data analysis showed that items which are assumed to be primarily judged by teachers (items 4, 8 and 9) are answered differently from items beyond the teachers' judgment (item 7). Interviews of selected pupils showed that the item 'pupils in my home village are better than pupils in town' (11) was often understood to mean 'better in academic performance'. I decided to include item 11 in the group of items 'judged by teachers'. Item 5 (other children like me) I aggregated with item 7 (I look good) to form the group 'items beyond teachers' judgment'. I looked at the two groups separately. Hence, based on the observation that there were certain patterns in responses to various groups of items (those influenced by internal or external factors), I decided to change the a priori total aggregation (as explained in Chapter 7) in favour of aggregating the nine items into the following three sub groups as explained above:

- a) The aggregated item A: 'Self-assessment based on items subjected to teachers' judgment' includes items 4 (I am a fast learner), 8 (I am creative), 9 (I am clean and tidy) and 11 (Children from my village are better than children in town).
- b) The aggregated item B: 'Self assessment beyond the teachers judgment' includes items 5 (Other children like me) and 7 (I find myself good looking).
- c) The aggregated item C: 'Attitude towards home' includes the items 6 (My family trusts me), 10 (I am proud of my family) and 12 (My language is better than other languages).



**Figure 9-2: Pre- and post-intervention results for nine items aggregated in three groups**

As the diagram shows, pupils self-attribute to a less extent positive attitudes subjected to teachers' judgment (aggregated item A) than positive attitudes beyond the teachers' judgment (aggregated item B) and attitudes towards their homes (aggregated item C). This discrepancy widens even more from term one to term three, percentages for aggregated item A drop slightly further, percentages for aggregated items B and C rise slightly.

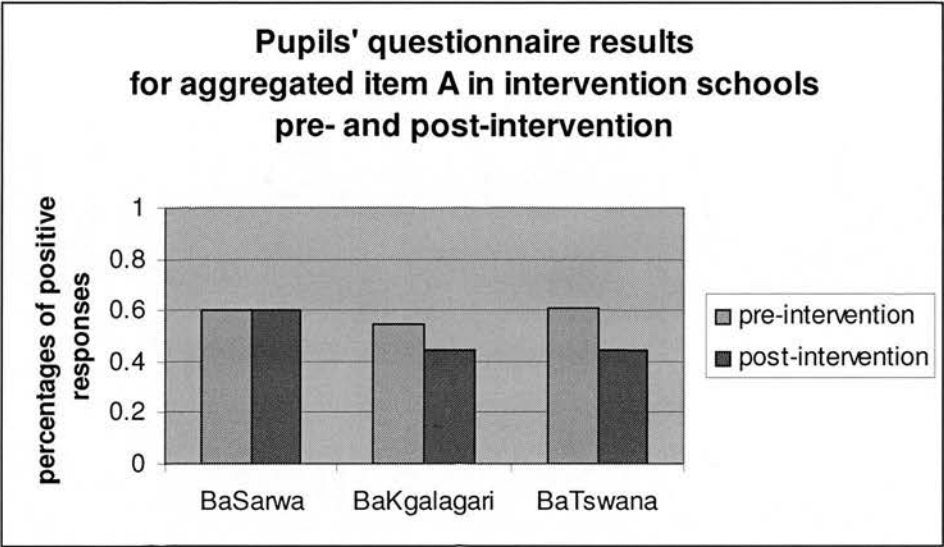
### Summary

Pupils self-attributed to a lower percentage positive school-related attitudes than positive non-school-related attitudes, a tendency which widened slightly from term one to term three. Throughout, pupils expressed pride of their families and trust by their families to a high extend.

**Question 1:** Does ICAE raise pupils' awareness and pride of their own cultural capital but also their awareness of deficits in acquiring the school culture?

**Results for Individual Ethnic Groups**

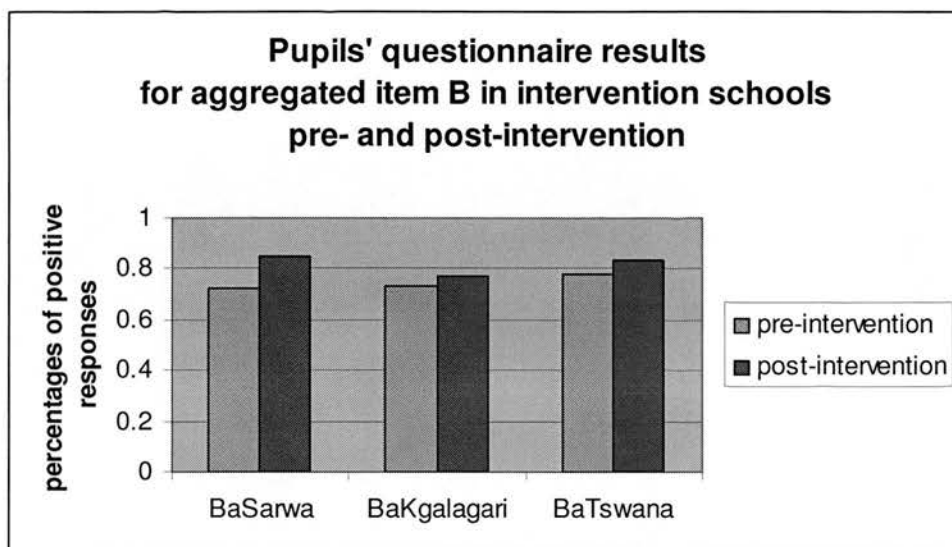
When results for the 27 Sesarwa speakers, 159 Shekgalagari speakers and 9 Setswana speakers are compared, some differences in attitudes of the groups emerge as shown in the following diagrams. The classification was based on pupils’ self-identification on the questionnaires.



**Figure 9-3: Pupils’ questionnaire results pre- and post-intervention for aggregated item A**

Self-assessment based on items subjected to teachers’ judgment recorded separately for BaSarwa pupils, BaKgalagari pupils and BaTswana pupils:

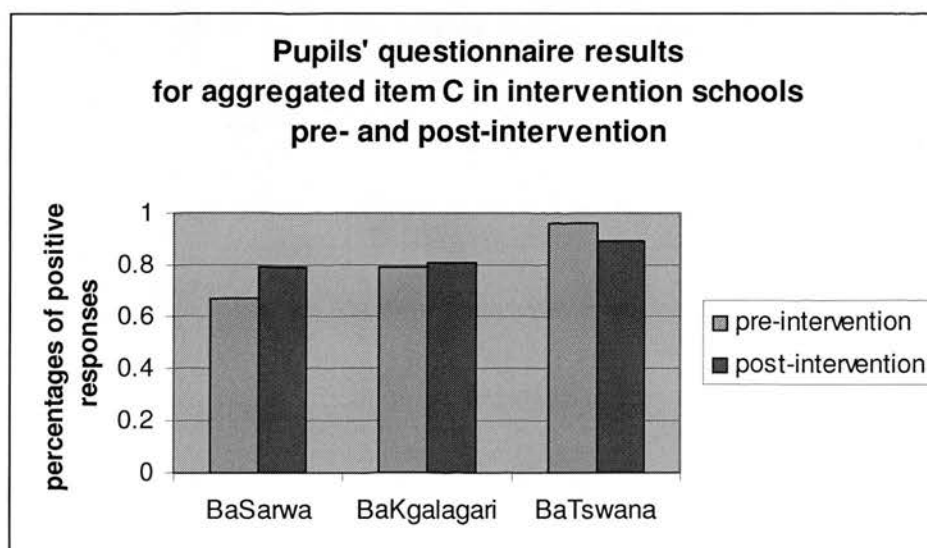
In term one BaSarwa children self-attributed to the same extend positive attitudes which were subjected to teachers’ judgment as BaTswana children did and to a slightly higher extend than BaKgalagari children did. In term three the extent of positive self-attribution remained unchanged high for BaSarwa pupils but dropped for BaKgalagari and BaTswana pupils.



**Figure 9-4: Pupils' questionnaire results pre- and post-intervention for aggregated item B**

Self-assessment based on items not subjected to teachers' judgment recorded separately for BaSarwa pupils, BaKgalagari pupils and BaTswana pupils:

In term one the extent of positive self-attribution for aggregated item B was for all three ethnic groups relatively high to about the same extend. In term three it rose for all three groups, for BaSarwa pupils slightly more than for the other two groups.



**Figure 9-5: Pupils' questionnaire results pre- and post-intervention for aggregated item C**

Attitude towards home recorded separately for BaSarwa pupils, BaKgalagari pupils and BaTswana pupils:

In term one, BaSarwa children expressed to a less extend a positive view of their homes than children of the two other ethnic groups did. In term three, the level for BaSarwa children rose to the same level as that of the BaKgalagari children, which had remained nearly unchanged. BaTswana children expressed in term one and three to the highest extend positive views of their homes.

The following diagrams show BaSarwa- and BaKgalagari pupils' responses to each individual item. I comment on changes in percentages more than 10%, representing more than 3 out of 27 BaSarwa children and more than 16 out of 159 BaKgalagari children.

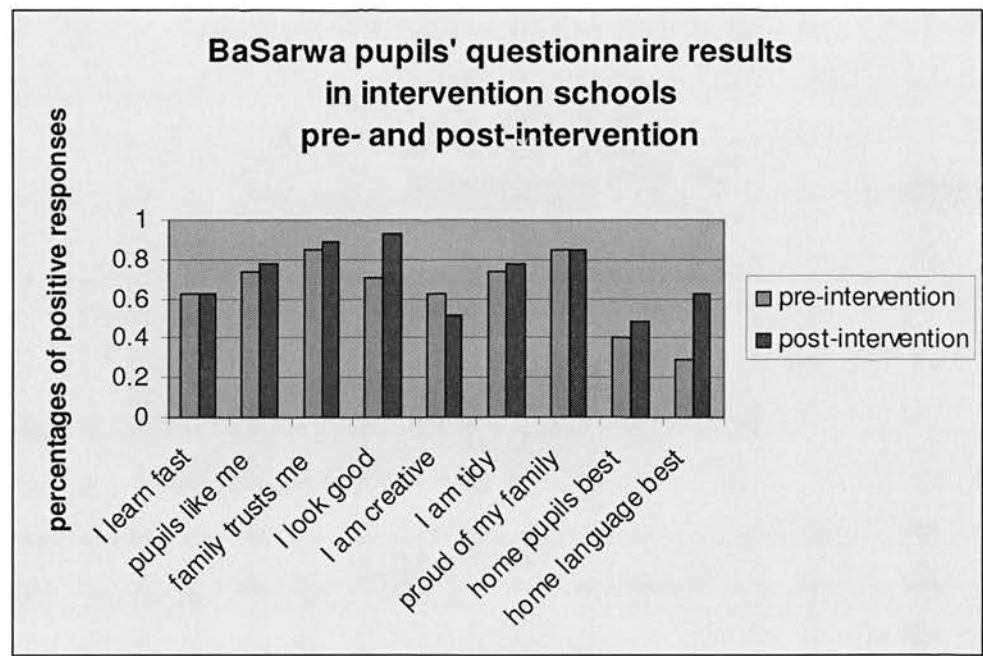
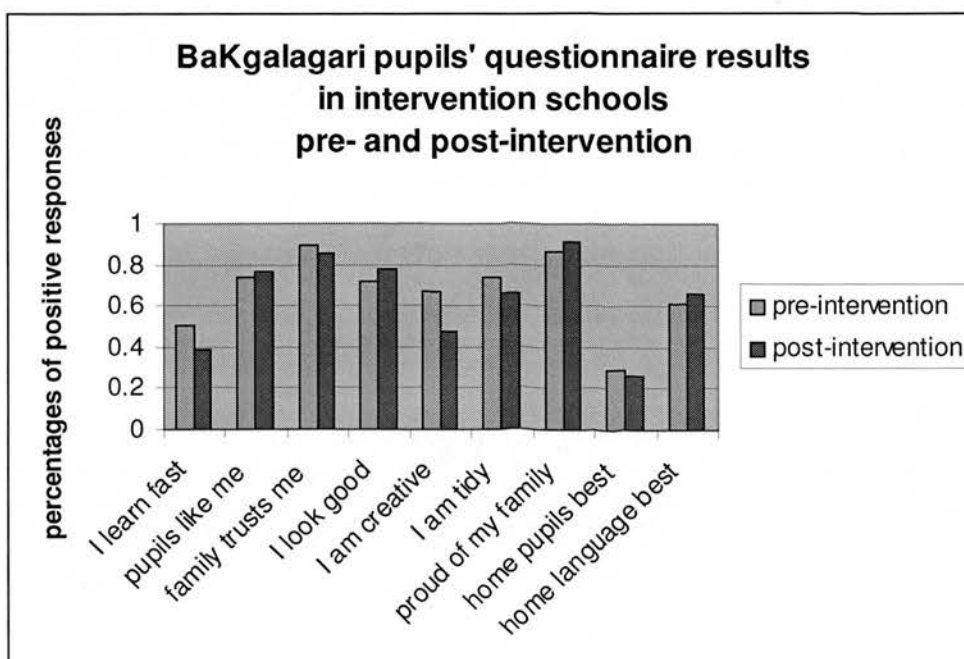


Figure 9-6: BaSarwa pupils' questionnaire results pre- and post-intervention for all items

BaSarwa pupils respond to a high percentage (more than 75%) positive to items which are not judged by teachers: 'pupils like me', 'my family trusts me', 'I am tidy' and 'I am proud of my family'. The Sesarwa speaking children also gained highly in two items



which both fall beyond the teachers' judgment: In term one 70% said they believe to look good, in term three 93% said so; and in term one 30% said their home language was the best, in term three it was 63%.



**Figure 9-7: BaKgalagari pupils' questionnaire results pre- and post-intervention for all items**

Like BaSarwa children, also BaKgalagari pupils respond to a high percentage (more than 75%) positive to items which are not judged by teachers: 'pupils like me', 'my family trusts me', 'I look good' and 'I am proud of my family'. For two items the percentages for positive responses by BaKgalagari pupils dropped more than 10%: In term one 50% said they believe to learn fast, in term three it was 39%; and in term one 67% said they saw themselves as creative, in term three the percentage dropped to 48%. Both items are subjected to teachers' judgment.

#### Setswana Speakers:

The results for Setswana speakers have little informational value as they are based on nine individuals only. Eight children express pride in their family and all nine in their language; they feel liked by other pupils and trusted by their families. Strangely, some pupils' confidence dropped over the year; in term one all thought themselves to be good

looking, creative and tidy, towards the end of the year only about half had that self-impression; and only two, respectively three thought themselves to be fast learners, compared to 2/3 of the BaSarwa children.

### **Summary:**

BaSarwa pupils' positive self-assessment expressed through responses to non-school-related questions reflects a higher improvement compared to the self-assessment of BaKgalagari pupils. BaSarwa pupils' percentages for positive responses to school-related items remained unchanged relatively high.

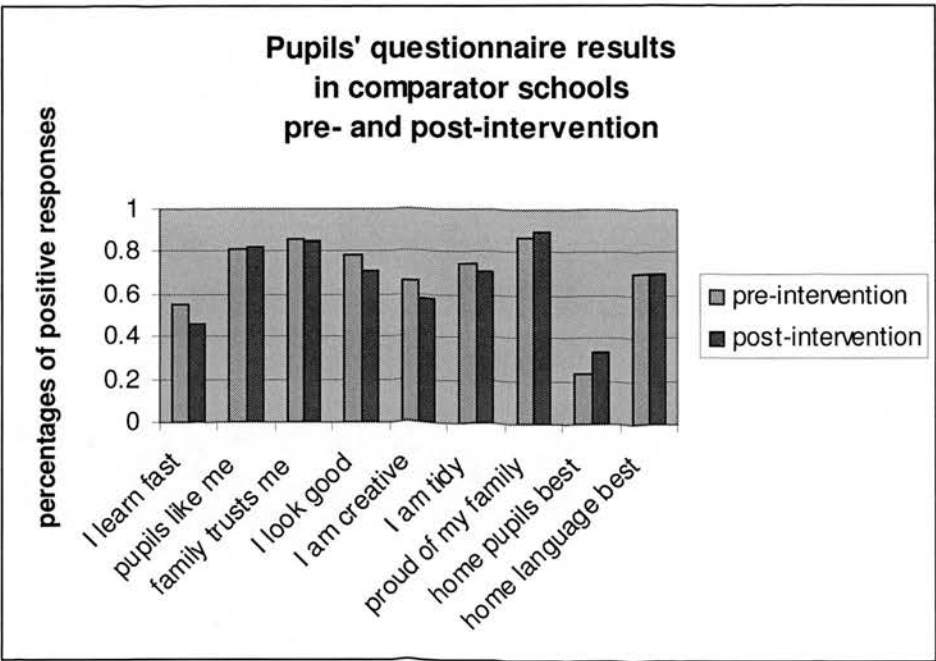
**Question 2:** Does ICAE especially benefit BaSarwa pupils by raising awareness and pride of their cultural capital?

### **9.1.2 Results: Comparator Schools**

In order to investigate whether the changes noted above might have been caused by my intervention, pupils of six standard four classes in six comparator schools filled in the same questionnaires in term one and three as the children did in the intervention schools. The children in the comparator schools had not been introduced to elements of ICAE; no cultural practitioners had been involved in teaching. In order to try and reduce any possible Hawthorn effect I conducted an arts unit, similar to the unit taught in the intervention schools, but lacking elements of the village community's culture and language.

I included 148 pupils of comparator schools in my research, only four identified themselves as Sesarwa speakers, only five as Setswana speakers, one as Ikalanga speaker and 138 as Shekgalagari speakers. Because I compare in the following analysis pre-intervention results with post-intervention results, I only included responses of 141 pupils who had filled in both questionnaires, one in term one as well as one in term three. If both, pre- and post-intervention results are recorded, the pre-intervention results

are shown in brackets. Because of the small numbers of non-Shekgalagari speakers I did not sub-divide on ethnic lines.



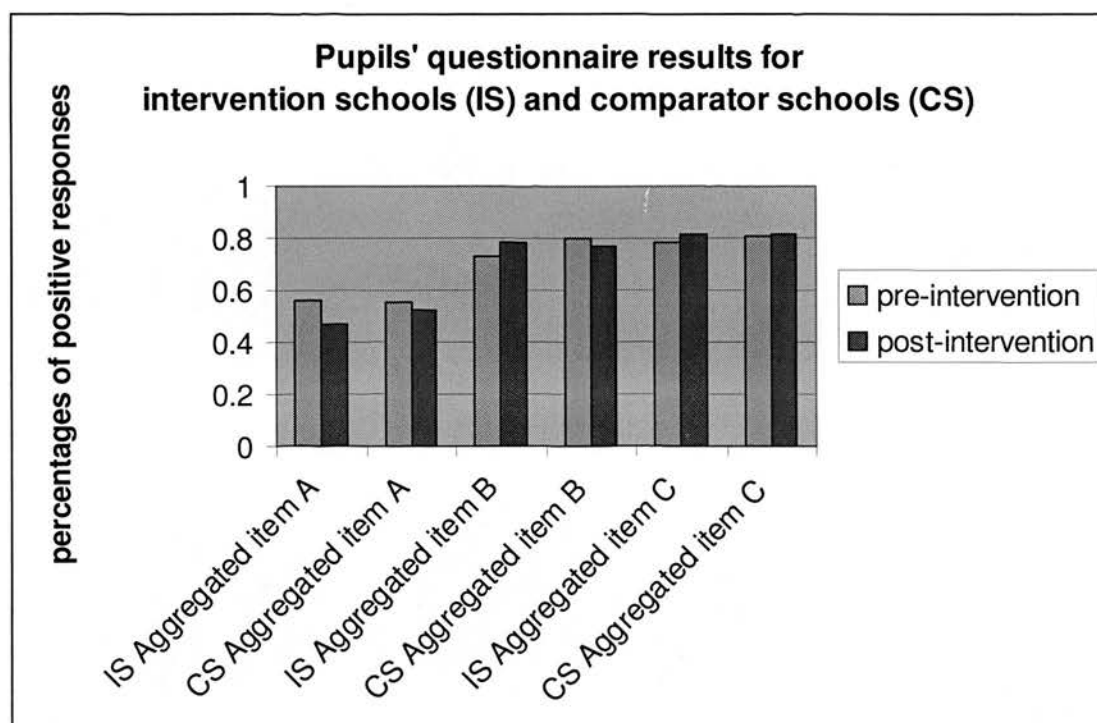
**Figure 9-8: Pupils' questionnaire results in comparator schools pre- and post-intervention for all items**

The pattern in answering questions regarding self assessment in areas which are commonly judged by teachers was similar to the pattern in intervention schools (The percentages in brackets reflect answers given in term one). Only 45% (55%) and 58% (67%) respectively of the children believed that they learn fast and that they are creative, 71% (75%) said that they are tidy. For all these three items the levels dropped slightly more in intervention schools than in comparator schools, as fig. 9-1 and 9-8 above, as well as fig. 9-9 below show. Only 33% (23%) believed that 'pupils in my home village are better than pupils in town' (item 11). Interviews of selected pupils showed, as mentioned before, that the expression 'better' was mainly associated with academic performance. These percentages were also low in intervention schools and even dropped slightly from term one to term three, whereby in comparator schools they rose by 12%

points. I included item 11 in the aggregated item A (items succumbed to teachers' judgment).

Not in accordance with answers given in intervention schools the percentage of pupils who saw themselves as good looking dropped in non intervention schools from 79% in term one to 71% in term three (it increased in intervention schools). The item 'I look good' contributes 50% to the aggregated item B. The fig. 9-9 below shows a small drop in positive attributions regarding items aggregated in item B in comparator schools and a small rise in intervention schools.

As in intervention schools a high percentage of pupils feel liked by other pupils and trusted by their families: 82% (82%) and 85% (86%) respectively with no major changes over the year. Also in correspondence with intervention schools the answers to item 10 and 12 reflect a positive attitude towards the pupils' families: 89% (87%) are proud of their families and 70% (70%) perceive their home language (mostly Shekgalagari) as better than other languages, whereby the percentages for the latter in intervention schools rose from 59% to the 68% level. This development is shown through the following graph (fig. 9-9) which is based on the aggregated items.



**Figure 9-9**Results for aggregated items A, B and C for children in intervention schools (IS) in comparison with results for children in comparator schools (CS).

### Summary

Results in comparator schools only differ for three items from results in intervention schools: Positive responses to statements ‘I look good’ and ‘my home language is better’ drop or remain unchanged in comparator schools while rising in intervention schools. On the contrary, the positive response to the statement ‘children at home are better than children in town’ dropped slightly in intervention schools but rose in comparator schools.

**Question 3:** Question three repeats question one: Might ICAE improve pupils’ positive self assessment as indicated by comparisons between results for intervention schools and comparator schools? Does ICAE raise pupils’ awareness and pride of their own cultural capital but also their awareness of deficits in acquiring the school culture?

9.1.3 Results for individual schools

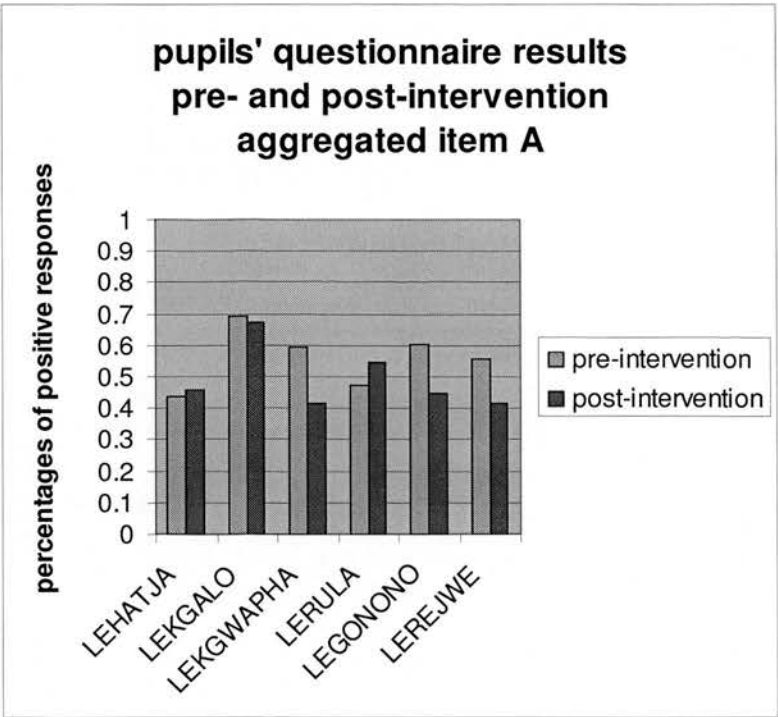
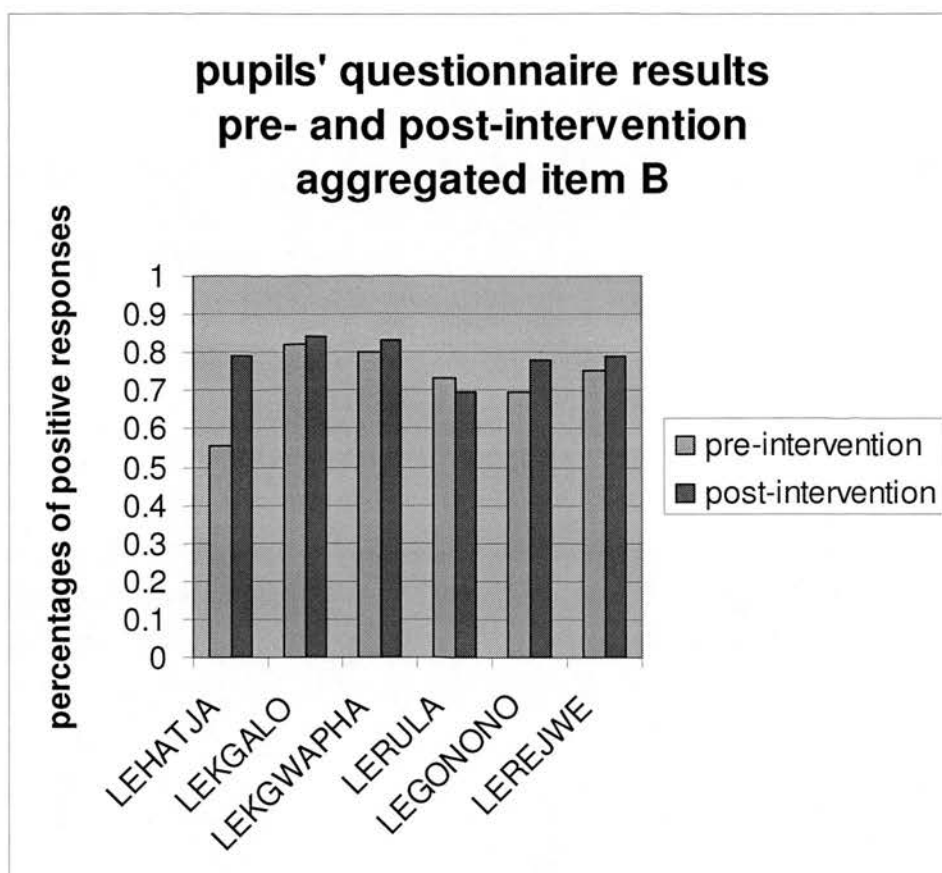


Figure 9-10: Pupils’ questionnaire results in the six intervention schools for aggregated item A pre- and post-intervention

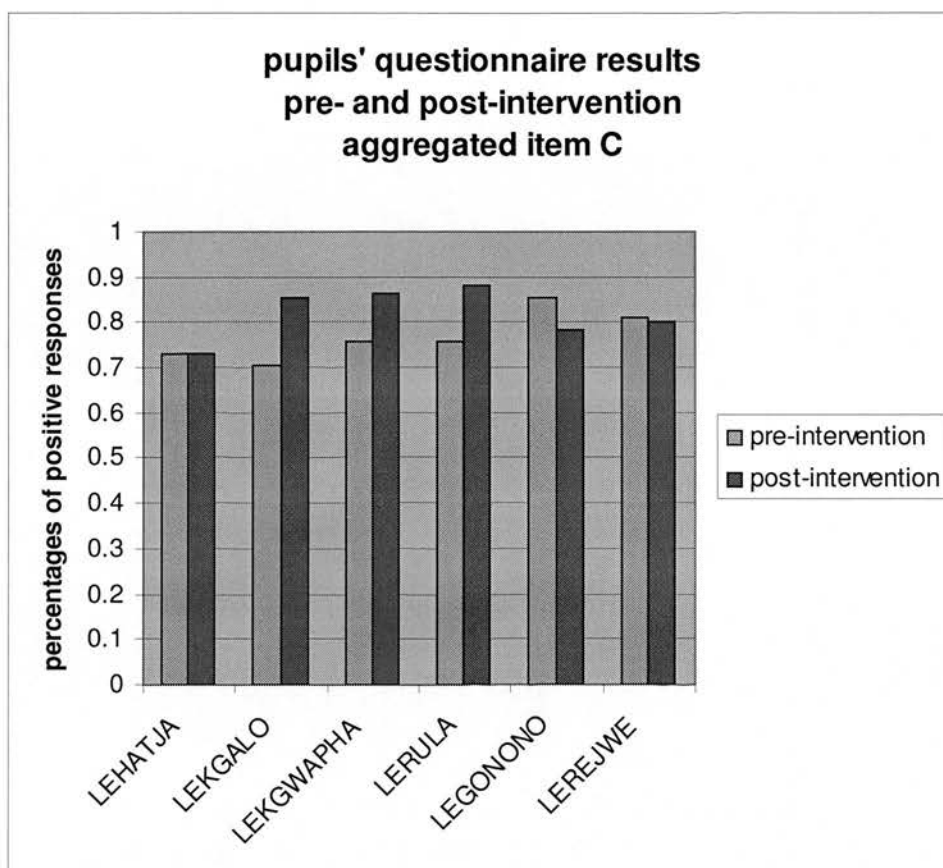
Looking at pupils’ pre-intervention responses to items succumbed to teachers’ judgment positive self-attributions range at the six intervention schools from about 45% in Lehatja to nearly 70% in Lekgalo. In the three schools Lekgwapha, Legonono and Lerejwe the levels drop from an about 55%-60% level to an about 40%-45% level. In Legonono and in Lerejwe the coordinators had not supported the research idea; in Lekgwapha the coordinator was supportive but failed to internalise the concept and to put child-centred methods into practise. Only in the two schools Lekgalo and Lerula, where the coordinators were actively involved in the implementation of ICAE-lessons, the percentage of pupils who self-attributed positively to items aggregated in item A was above 50%: in Lerula 55%, up from 47%, in Lekgalo nearly unchanged about 70%. In Lehatja it was pre- and post-intervention at about 45%.



**Figure 9-11**  
**Pupils' questionnaire results in the six intervention schools for aggregated item B pre- and post-intervention**

Looking at pupils' pre-intervention responses to items not succumbed to teachers' judgment positive self-attributions range at the six intervention schools from about 55% in Lehatja to about 80% in Lekgalo with all schools, except Lehatja, scoring between 70% and 80%. Post-intervention, levels for the five schools (all but Lehatja) remained nearly unchanged between 70% and 85%, in Lehatja it rose from its 55% low to the average of 80%.





**Figure 9-12: Pupils' questionnaire results in the six intervention schools for aggregated item C pre- and post-intervention**

In term one in the six intervention schools between 70% and 85% of the pupils expressed a positive view of their homes. The level remained nearly unchanged in term three at 75% to 80% in Lehatja, Legonono and Lerejwe; it rose in Lekgalo, Lekgwapha and in Lerula from 70% -75% to a level between 85% and nearly 90%.

The coordinator in Lekgalo was the most supportive of all coordinators. She conducted several ICAE lessons in own responsibility, demonstrated respect towards community members and practiced increasingly more child-centred methods in her lessons. Children in Lekgalo self-attributed with the highest percentage of all intervention schools positive attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment as well as beyond the teachers' judgment and

also had the largest increase in positive views of their homes from term one to term three.

The coordinator in Lerula also supported the research idea; she was, unfortunately, not very successful in inviting many villagers for cooperative teaching, but maintained a friendly atmosphere in her class. Children in her class responded with the highest percentage positively to items regarding their homes, they self attributed with the second highest percentage (after Lekgalo) positive attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment, but with the lowest percentage positive attitudes beyond teachers' judgment (aggregated item B). Two items contribute to aggregated item B: 'I look good' and 'other pupils like me'. The raw data reveal that actually nearly 80% of the pupils saw themselves as good looking, but only 60% thought to be liked by other pupils. I assume that this relatively low percentage for one item was caused by internal temporary conflicts.

The coordinator in Lekgwapha had supported the project by involving several villagers in classroom teaching, but she had not internalised the research idea and demonstrated quite harsh attitudes towards the pupils and also towards some villagers. Children in her class self-attributed with the lowest percentage positive attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment, with a sharp drop from term one to term three, but the second highest in aggregated items B and C which are both beyond the teachers' judgment.

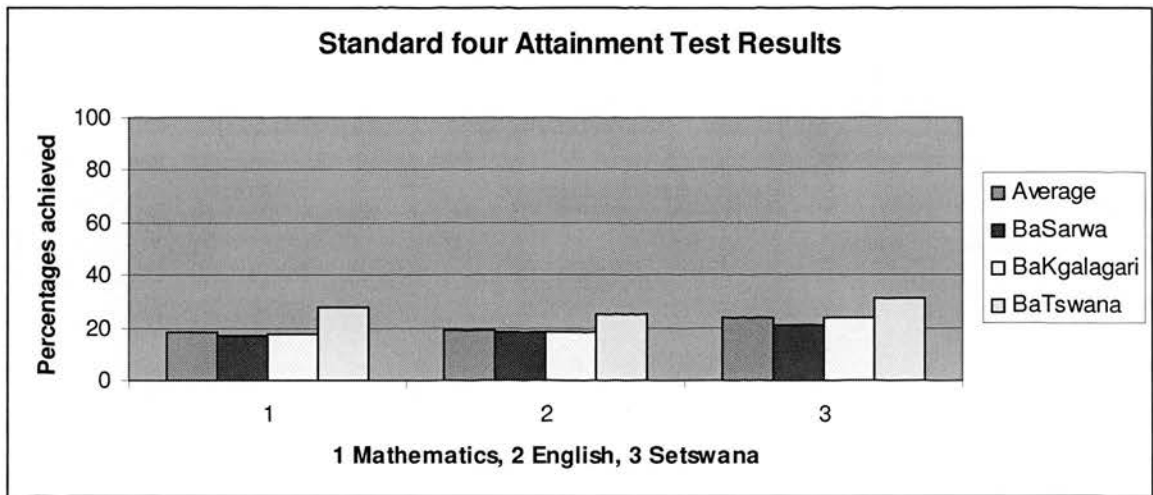
The coordinator in Lehatja showed a relaxed attitude towards his pupils, he verbally supported the project, but he failed to carry out more than one ICAE activity. In term one his pupils self-attributed with the lowest percentage of all intervention schools positive attitudes succumbed to as well as beyond teachers' judgment, and they scored second lowest in expressing positive views of their homes. In term three percentages for responses to aggregated item A and C remained relatively low, but percentages for aggregated item B, representing items not succumbed to teachers' judgment, rose by 23% to an average level.

In the two schools Legonono and Lerejwe the three coordinators showed no support for the research project. They neither invited cultural practitioners for cooperative teaching, nor did they adapt any child-centred methods in their teaching. Responding to items succumbed to teachers' judgment percentages for positive responses dropped from a 55%-60% level to a 40%-45% level. Responding to items beyond teachers' judgment, nearly 80% of the pupils made positive statements in both schools for aggregated items B and C.

**Question 4:** Might the response of coordinators regarding the implementation of ICAE have a major effect on pupils' self assessment and how they view their homes?

## **9.2 Standard Four Attainment Test Results**

In Botswana all standard four pupils write nationwide attainment tests in term three in the subjects Mathematics, English and Setswana. The test results allow comparisons of results of schools and ethnic groups. As there is only one testing the results offer no insight into developments of academic performance. The numbers recorded reflect averages of correct answers for pupils of certain groups. In Mathematics the highest possible number is 60, in English and Setswana it is 50, but results here are shown in percentages.



**Figure 9-13:** The diagram shows the percentages achieved by ethnic groups in the Standard Four National Attainment Test (SFNAT) for pupils in intervention schools and comparator schools combined.

In all three subjects pupils enrolled in the research (intervention- and comparator schools) scored an average below 30%. In all three subjects girls scored slightly higher than boys, pupils in comparator schools scored slightly higher than pupils in intervention schools. Setswana speaking children had better results than Sesarwa and Shekgalagari speakers (diff of means  $> \frac{1}{2}$ , partly  $> 1$  standard deviation), but this I do not consider significant as their total number of 13 is too small compared to 291 Shekgalagari speakers and 31 Sesarwa speakers. Only four out of the 31 Sesarwa speakers are from comparator schools; this number I perceive as too small for any comparisons. The 27 Sesarwa speakers in intervention schools score slightly higher in Mathematics and English, slightly lower in Setswana than Shekgalagari speakers do.

### Summary:

The Standard Four National Attainment Test (SFNAT) results lend credence to the evidence from pre existing data that academic performance in Kweneng West Sub District is below the nationwide average. Most differences between groups of pupils are either too minor or are based on a too small number of individuals to allow conclusions. Only the 2.1/50 difference between the group of BaSarwa and BaKgalagari in Setswana in intervention schools might show that BaSarwa children find it more difficult to

acquire the national language which is in its structure closer to the language Shekgalagari, spoken by BaKgalagari.

## **9.3 Observations of Academic Performance and Attitudes**

In addition to analyzing attainment test results I carried out observations of academic performance. I had planned a systematic observation focussing on pupils' mastery of English and Setswana, but I soon realized that pupils' ability to express themselves was far less determined by linguistic ability than by the ability to overcome fear and shyness to communicate with adults. The focus of my observation shifted from pupils' vocabulary to pupils' responsiveness.

### **9.3.1 Intervention Schools**

During my visits in term one I perceived most pupils as intimidated and insecure in their communication. This seemed particularly so in four of the six schools. The children never asked any questions, their answers were usually short one-word-responses. I found it fruitless to ask the pupils to elaborate on their responses as their replies were again either a silence, a shy 'I don't know', or the offer of an alternative one-word-response. This inability to freely communicate with teaching staff made it nearly impossible for me to determine the pupils' ability to understand and to respond in English or in Setswana.

During the course of my intervention pupils became much more responsive towards me; their shyness to inter-communicate during lessons was reduced. Most children communicated in Shekgalagari, but I found it easy to encourage them to switch to one of the official languages by responding in Setswana or in English and sometimes offering an unfamiliar expression in Setswana or in English. Pupils started, on a basic level, asking questions, describing events, telling stories, expressing their opinion and even arguing in Setswana, a few even in English.

When I asked pupils to fill in the questionnaires in term three, an activity which was obviously viewed by pupils as resembling the more conservative classroom situation, some children relapsed into the habit of non-communicating, even when I repeated questions in Shekgalagari: They did not ask for clarification when they did not understand questions, they tried to copy their neighbours' responses, hence actually their neighbours' views, and were unable to clarify or to explain their chosen responses. When I sat down with individual pupils who had problems in filling in the questionnaires in order to explain the task to them, most children were soon free to discuss questions with me, mostly in Shekgalagari, and they were able to appropriately answer the questionnaire items which were written in Setswana.

In Lehatja and Lerula the pupils communicated from the beginning slightly more freely with their class teachers. The coordinator in Lehatja was of BaKgalagari ethnicity and he accepted responses in Shekgalagari. The coordinator in Lerula was of BaTswana ethnicity, but she accepted pupils' explanations in Shekgalagari and helped them find the Setswana expressions. Both coordinators had invited cultural practitioners to class in my absence (the coordinator in Lehatja had only invited one villager). The children in these two schools were also more open towards me from the beginning, their level of understanding English and Setswana was the highest of all six intervention schools, they scored the highest in Mathematics and in English in the national attainment tests. In Lerula the questionnaire results showed by far the highest gain in positive self assessment over the research period. In Lehatja the level of positive self assessment remained unchanged against a drop in three other schools.

In the other four schools pupils hardly ever communicated with their class teachers in term one. In Lekgalo this changed towards the end of the year. The coordinator in this school, a well organized teacher, who prepared her lessons thoroughly and kept the classroom neat and tidy, was initially observed as very authoritarian and restricting; however, as mentioned before, she gradually adapted to the method of ICAE: She visited

cultural practitioners in their homes with me but also on her own; she invited them to class to introduce culture-relevant topics and showed appreciation of their skills and attitudes. In term three I observed her discussing topics with pupils and asking them for help in translations from their home language into Setswana.

In Lekgalo, a village predominately inhabited by people of BaSarwa ethnicity, the pupils' observed level of communication was the lowest of all at the beginning of the year. In term three they scored second lowest in the attainment test, but I observed the highest increase in their ability to express themselves during my model lessons compared to pupils of all schools. According to the questionnaire results, the children had the highest level of positive self assessment with no decrease from term one to term three. At a basic level, community business initiatives such as egg production, gardening, guinea fowl rearing, wood carving and leather work were observed in this neat little RAD village. The village was kept clean and a number of houses were adorned with patterns, on the tuck shop front wall was a mural with Kalahari wildlife scenery. People in this village showed the highest readiness to support teaching, and as the coordinator also welcomed the collaborative teaching method, the standard four pupils in this village experienced more ICAE lessons than any of the other classes involved in the project.

In Lekgwapha, Legonono and Lerejwe pupils' readiness to communicate with me and to contribute to the running of the lessons in my presence increased, but this change of attitude was not transferred to their class teachers. During their presentations or during contributions in lessons that I conducted, pupils often looked insecurely and shyly to their teachers, reassuring themselves that they were allowed to speak and act. The teachers felt uncomfortable with the situation, they often tried to interfere by reprimanding and even pushing pupils who they thought were irreverent towards me. After my research assistant reassured them that I accepted, even appreciated the children's active participation, which we never even faintly associated with disrespect,

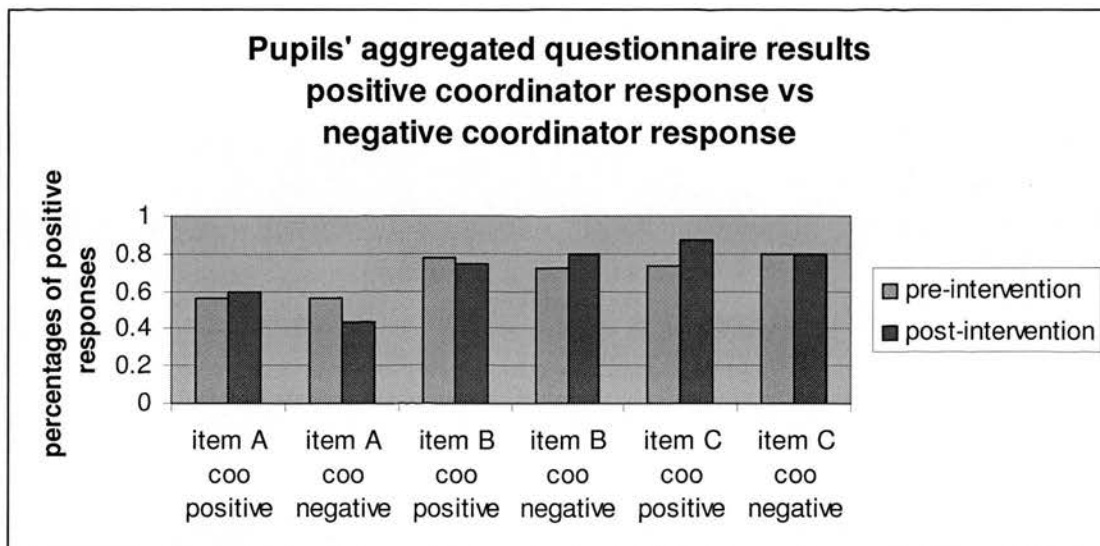


the coordinators withdrew and watched from a distance. They had obviously not yet internalized the concept of ICAE.

Three coordinators of the two schools Legonono and Lerezwe had not made any efforts to get involved in the research project; they never invited cultural practitioners and even made efforts to leave the classroom during my project lessons. In both schools the class teachers habitually only involved three children in their lessons, in Lerezwe all three children were of BaTswana ethnicity, in Legonono of BaKgalagari ethnicity and closely related to a teacher in the school.

The coordinator in Lekgalo was very enthusiastic in her participation in the project. She visited villagers to invite them for classroom presentations and organized several successful lessons taught in cooperation with cultural practitioners. She was, unfortunately, too insecure to try to practice more child centred methods towards the children and reverted to exaggerated disciplinary measures like reprimanding, pushing, pulling and beating pupils.

I aggregated the results of pupils' responses for Lekgalo and Lerula, the two schools where in my judgement the coordinators had implemented the project successfully. I also aggregated the responses given by pupils in the four other schools to compare the two groups.

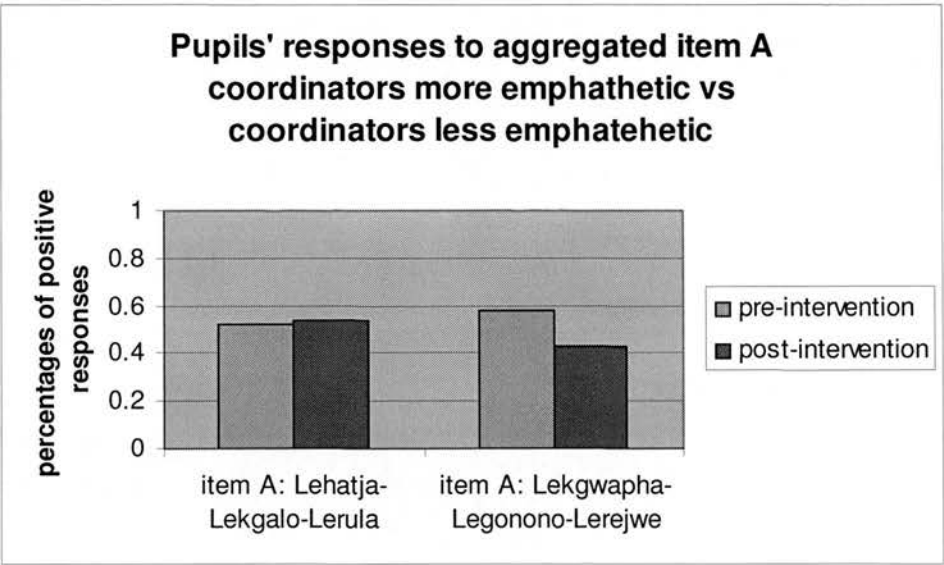


**Figure 9-14: Results for aggregated items A, B and C for children taught by coordinators who were supportive of the project and coordinators who were not supportive of the project.**

In the two schools where the coordinators supported the project actively, the pupils' positive self assessment based on items succumbed to teachers' judgment remained nearly unchanged, but dropped in schools where the coordinators showed less support; the positive self assessment beyond the teachers' judgment remained nearly unchanged in schools where coordinators showed support and in schools where they showed less support. In the two schools where the coordinators were supportive the percentage of pupils who expressed a positive view towards their homes rose, in schools where the coordinators showed less support it remained unchanged.

Referring to question four above, I had a look at pupils' questionnaire responses separately in schools where coordinators practiced more (or less) child centred approaches and where coordinators conducted more than one ICAE lesson involving cultural practitioners. Moderate child-centred methods were applied by the coordinators in Lehatja, Lekgalo and in Lerula. Cultural practitioners were involved in classroom teaching more often than once in Lekgalo, Lekgwapha and in Lerula. The following diagram shows pupils' questionnaire results regarding their self attribution through items succumbed to teachers' judgment (aggregated item A) in three schools where

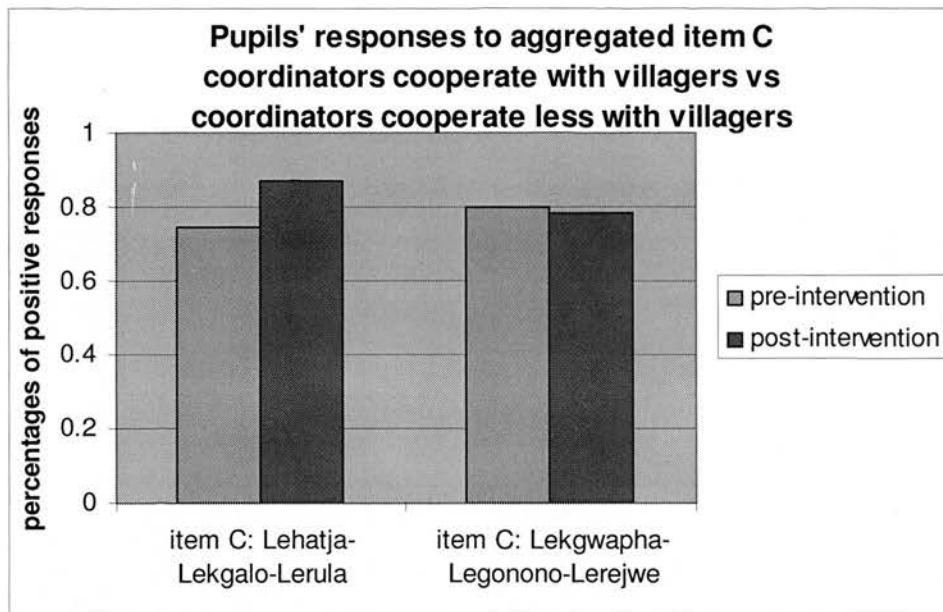
coordinators made some child-centred approaches versus three schools where coordinators showed no moves towards child-centredness:



**Figure 9-15: Pupils’ questionnaire results in Lehatja, Lekgalo and Lerula, where coordinators showed some emphathy versus results in Lekgwapha, Legonono and Lerejwe, where coordinators showed less emphathy**

The diagram shows that in schools where the coordinators showed some empathy towards the pupils the percentage of pupils’ positive self-attributions regarding items succumbed to teachers’ judgment remained unchanged at an about 50% level, in schools where teachers were less empathetic it dropped from an about 60% level to an about 40% level.

The following diagram shows pupils’ questionnaire responses regarding their views of their homes (aggregated item C) in three schools where coordinators engaged villagers in classroom teaching versus three schools where coordinators failed to engage more than one cultural practitioner.



**Figure 9-16: Pupils' questionnaire results in Lekgalo, Lerula and lekgwapha, where coordinators invited more than one cultural practitioner to class versus results in Lehatja, Legonono and Lerejwe, where coordinators failed to invite villagers**

In schools where coordinators involved cultural practitioners more often in teaching the percentage of pupils' positive view of their homes rose from about 75% to about 90%, but remained unchanged at an about 80% level in schools where coordinators made less or no efforts to engage villagers.

**Question 5:** Might the involvement of cultural practitioners, independent of the teachers' attitudes shown towards pupils, increase some pupils' self-esteem regarding attitudes beyond teachers' judgment and their positive view of their homes (see fig. 9-16)? Might teachers' child-centred approaches, independent of villagers' involvement in teaching, increase pupils' self-esteem regarding attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment (see fig. 9-15)?

### **9.3.2 Comparator Schools**

On average, standard four pupils of comparator schools were from the beginning more responsive and consequently more fluent in the two official languages than pupils of the intervention schools.

Especially in three comparator schools, Tjhuleng, Tjhotjologeng and Kgalong the children were relatively open, able to answer in short sentences and willing to explain simple events. The class teachers in Tjhotjologeng and Kgalong showed a quite positive attitude towards their pupils; they were relaxed, accepted and if necessary translated expressions used by children in Shekgalagari and encouraged their pupils to explain answers. The teacher in Tjhuleng was strict and insecure in her behaviour, but she had been given the class as class teacher shortly before I started my research work. I read the children's openness as a possible result of previous relatively child-centred teaching.

In Tjhejweng the standard four class had been without a teacher for at least one whole term. The children proved to be difficult to control, but interestingly, they had developed a habit of autodidactic acquisition of knowledge through teaching each other and mastered exercises in their books on their own. They freely communicated in Shekgalagari amongst each other, with me and later also with their new teacher. Their level of communication in English and Setswana was poor. The children enthusiastically fulfilled all tasks of my model project at a relatively high level, even though a gap showed between a group of pupils who were able and others who struggled to succeed. (This observation of 10 year old pupils' relative successful self organization in a situation where they were left with the responsibility to learn on their own prompted in me the idea of further research in that field in future). The new class teacher, who took over the class in the second term, found it extremely difficult to gain control over the class; the children plainly ignored her frequent rebukes.

In the two schools Nganeng and Kgabaleng pupils showed the level of non-responsiveness as described in the observation of pupils' academic level in most intervention schools. In Nganeng the pupils were without a teacher when I first saw them. By the end of term two they had a new class teacher, a very empathetic and supportive young man of BaKgalagari ethnicity, but unfortunately my time was limited to observe changes in pupils' attitudes which could have been attributed to the influence of the new teacher. In Kgabaleng the teacher was quite authoritative at the beginning, the children consequently intimidated. Even though I did not introduce ICAE in Kgabaleng, the young class teacher avidly assimilated my rather child-centred approach. Towards the end of the academic year she had changed her attitude gradually, was more supportive towards the children, who noticeably became more responsive, especially children academically at the bottom of the class, which perhaps shows that even a relatively small but powerful intervention in terms of in service education has potential for beneficial effects.

### **Summary**

I realized during my first visits in term one 2005 that standard four children in all twelve schools enrolled in my research showed a low level of ability to communicate. My *a priori* assumption was to attribute this to intimidation by overly autocratic teachers. Pupils whose class teachers were slightly less restrictive, incorporating a few elements of child-centeredness, showed a slightly higher preparedness, and consequently ability, to communicate with their teachers and amongst each others.

During lessons in the frame of ICAE taught by me or by coordinators in cooperation with cultural practitioners, children became increasingly responsive and actively involved in the lessons. This positive effect was especially noticeable in pupils whose academic performance was low and/or whose cultural background differed further from the BaTswana dominated school culture, mostly the BaSarwa.

In classes where coordinators accepted the idea of ICAE, invited villagers to support lessons, showed more respect towards the community culture and practiced more child centred methods, this positive effect showed signs of sustainability. Through their questionnaire responses the children in these schools showed a higher level of acceptance of their homes and self-attributed to a higher percentage attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment than in the other schools.

In classes where coordinators rejected the idea of ICAE or were unable to internalize the concept, pupils were remarkably open and responsive towards me, but this effect was not transferred to their communication with their teachers.

**Question 6:** When recording pupils' attitudes, am I actually recording traits or state? Have pupils changed their attitudes or have they temporarily adapted to the respective context?

**Question 7:** Does a relatively small but powerful intervention in terms of in-service education have potential beneficial effects on teachers' attitudes towards pupils?

## **9.4 Teachers' Post Intervention Questionnaire Results**

- a) In term three 2005, 176 teachers of the twelve schools filled in the same questionnaires they had filled in during term one. In order to avoid recognition of items I changed the sequence of item-appearance and I added three more items.
- b) I asked the teachers to make unguided additional remarks on a paper provided.

The following data include responses of teachers in intervention schools and in comparator schools. I firstly combined data gathered at comparator schools with data gathered at intervention schools to avail more data which might help to reveal any patterns in attitudes in term three; all data, including data collected from teachers who



had only filled in one questionnaire, were considered in the analysis which did not involve pre- and post-intervention comparisons. My ICAE intervention included only a small direct involvement of the whole teaching staff; I met the teachers of both, the intervention schools and the comparator schools, for the introduction of my research activities and for filling in the questionnaires. The difference was confined to the one afternoon workshop on cultural clashes I conducted for intervention schools and the teachers noticing villagers visiting their school to get involved in activities in the standard four classes. Secondly, I look at data acquired from intervention school teachers and comparator school teachers separately in order to investigate the impact my moderate intervention might have had on teachers. In this analysis I only include responses gathered from teachers who had participated in filling in both questionnaires in order to validate pre- and post-intervention comparisons. Thirdly, I will analyse responses given at individual schools.

As the seven coordinators were actively involved in the research their questionnaire responses are analyzed separately.

In this chapter I will mainly present the data, a discussion will follow in chapter 10. Differences in results are noted when the mean of teachers' responses of a group differs more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  standard-deviation from the overall average or from the mean of a comparable group.

176 teachers filled in the questionnaires, 86 in comparator schools and 90 in intervention schools. When comparing pre- and post-intervention results I only include the 142 teachers in the analysis who filled in both, the pre- and post-intervention questionnaires. 70 of these teachers taught in comparator schools, 72 in intervention schools.

9.4.1 Results for all schools combined

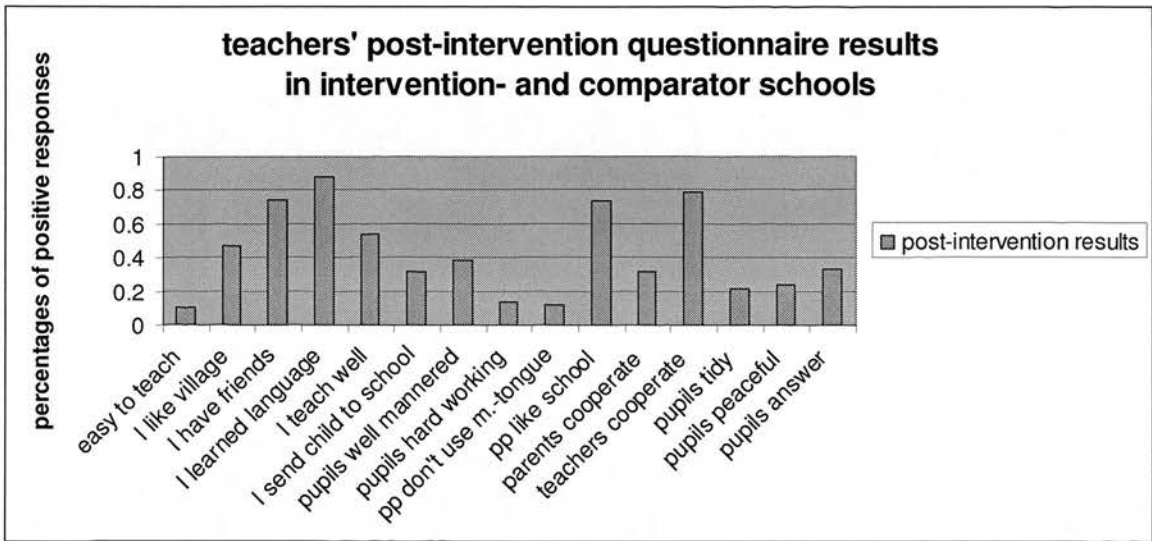


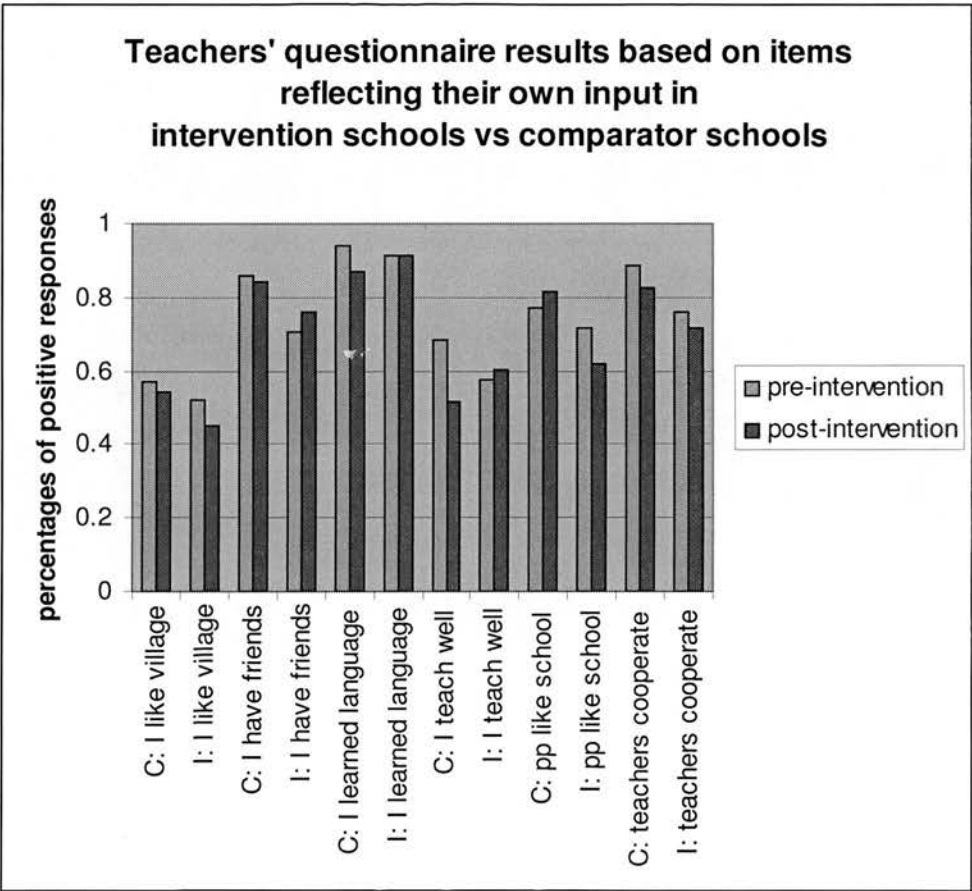
Figure 9-17: Responses of all teachers involved in the research to all questionnaire items in term three. The results for item 'children speak mother tongue in class' is inverted as a positive response reflects a negative view.

The majority of all teachers have a positive view of their own input upon the school and upon the community: At least three out of four say they have friends in the community, have learned some of the local language, find their colleagues cooperative and believe that the children like the school. About half the teachers say they teach well and that they like living in the village of their posting. In contrast to this, their responses reflect a rather negative view of pupils' and parents' input: Only about one in ten teachers sees the pupils as easy to teach and hard working and willing to use one of the official languages in school. About one in five teachers sees pupils as clean and tidy and as willing to solve conflicts peacefully, one in three teachers finds them well mannered and responsive. Only one in three teachers says the parents are cooperative and also only one in three teachers would send the own child to his/her school of posting.

**Question 8:** Have some teachers developed defence mechanisms for explaining poor results by putting the blame on pupils and parents and stressing own efforts?

**9.4.2 Results for Intervention Schools in comparison with results for Comparator Schools:**

The following results reflect responses given by teachers who answered both questionnaires at intervention schools compared to responses given at comparator schools. The diagram shows results for selected items reflecting teachers’ input separately for intervention schools (I) and comparator schools (C) in comparison:

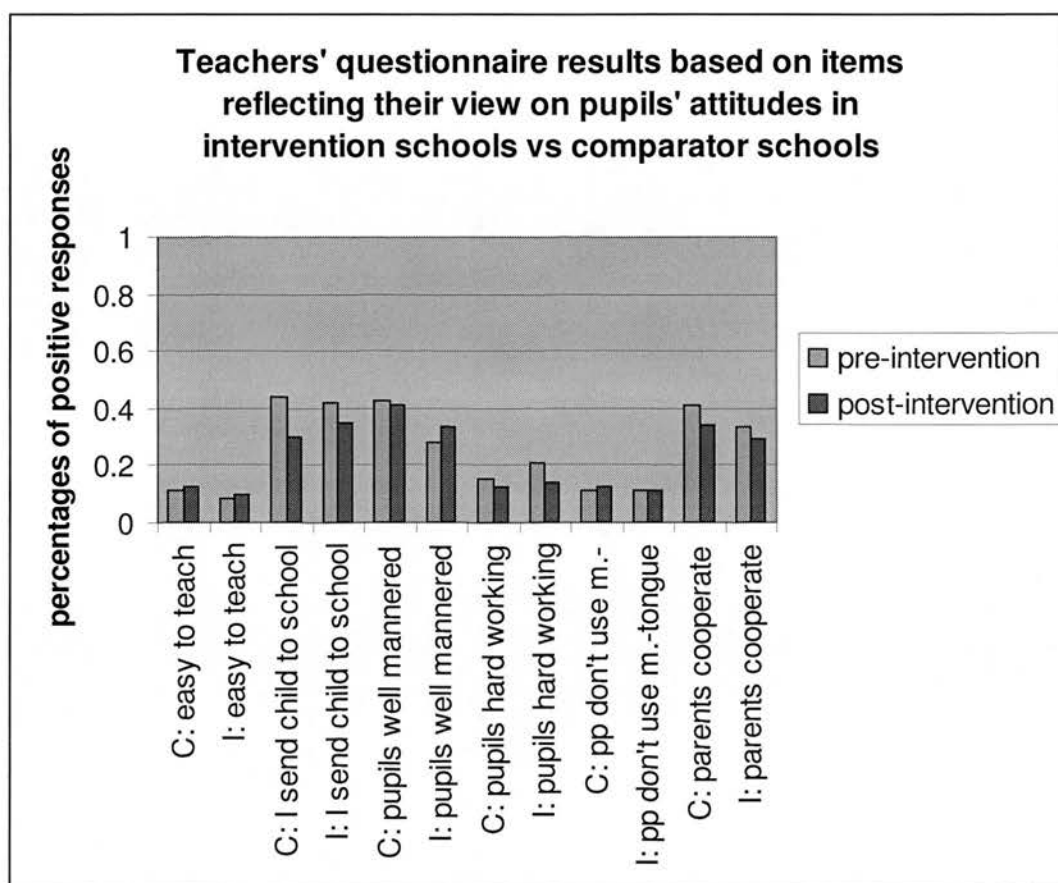


**Figure 9-18: Pre- and post-intervention teachers’ questionnaire results based on items reflecting their own input. Results in comparator schools are compared to results in intervention schools.**

Overall scores for items reflecting the teachers’ input range relatively high between 50% and 90%. Results in comparator schools do not differ much from results in intervention

schools except for two items: In term one about 70% of the teachers in comparator schools say they manage to teach the children well, in term three only about 50% believe so, whereby in intervention schools this percentage remains nearly unchanged at about 60%; and in comparator schools about 80% of the teachers state in term one and in term three that the children like the school, in intervention schools it was about 70% in term one and 60% in term three. A closer look at data received in individual villages later might offer possible answers to this discrepancy.

The following diagram shows results for selected items reflecting teachers' view of pupils' and parents' attitudes separately for intervention schools and comparator schools in comparison. I include the item 'I would send my own child to my school of posting' as I assume it also reflects a teacher's attitude towards her/his pupils:



**Figure 9-19: Pre- and post-intervention teachers' questionnaire results based on items reflecting their view on pupils' attitudes. Results in comparator schools (C) are compared to results in intervention schools (I). The results for item 'children speak mother tongue in class' is inverted as a positive response reflects a negative view.**

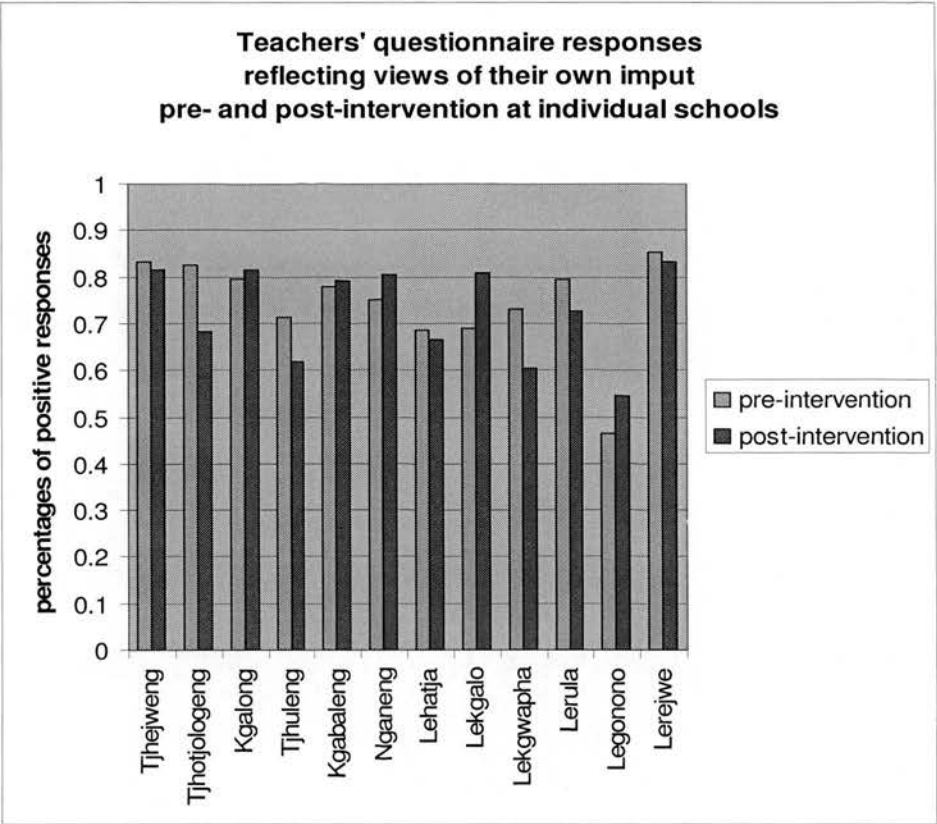
The results reflect the teachers' generally negative view of pupils' attitudes with no major differences between comparator schools and intervention schools. The scores vary between 10% and 40%.

**Question 9:** Is the effect of ICAE only restricted to the one actively involved class and its class teacher with no major influence on other teachers?

### 9.4.3 Results in individual villages:

The following diagram shows teachers' responses first at six comparator schools and then at six intervention schools. The responses reflect teachers' views of their own input

pre- and post-intervention. The item ‘view of their own input’ was created through an aggregation of the six items ‘I like living in my school village’, ‘I have friends from this community’, ‘I learned a bit of the language of this community’, ‘I manage to teach these children well’, ‘children like this school’ and ‘my colleagues at this school are cooperative’.



**Figure 9-20: Teachers’ view of their own input in six comparator schools and six intervention schools pre- and post-intervention.**

At eleven schools pre- and post-intervention scores for positive responses to the aggregated item ‘teachers’ views of own input’ vary between 60% and 85%. At the three schools Tjhotjologeng, Tjhuleng and Lekgalo where we had sensed tensions between teaching staff and the school management team, levels dropped more than 10% from term one to term three, but remained within the 60%-85% range. Only in Legonono less than 50% of the teachers expressed positive views of their own input in term one,

slightly over 50% in term three. At this school tensions amongst teaching staff and between the teaching staff and the community had erupted into an open conflict at the beginning of the year. Confirming my observations of tensions amongst teachers, in Tjhotjologeng, Lekgalo and Legonono remarkably many teachers expressed through responses to question 12 that they saw their colleagues not as cooperative. I should qualify this by pointing out that item 12 was actually one out of the six items that contributed to the aggregated item 'teachers' views of own input'.

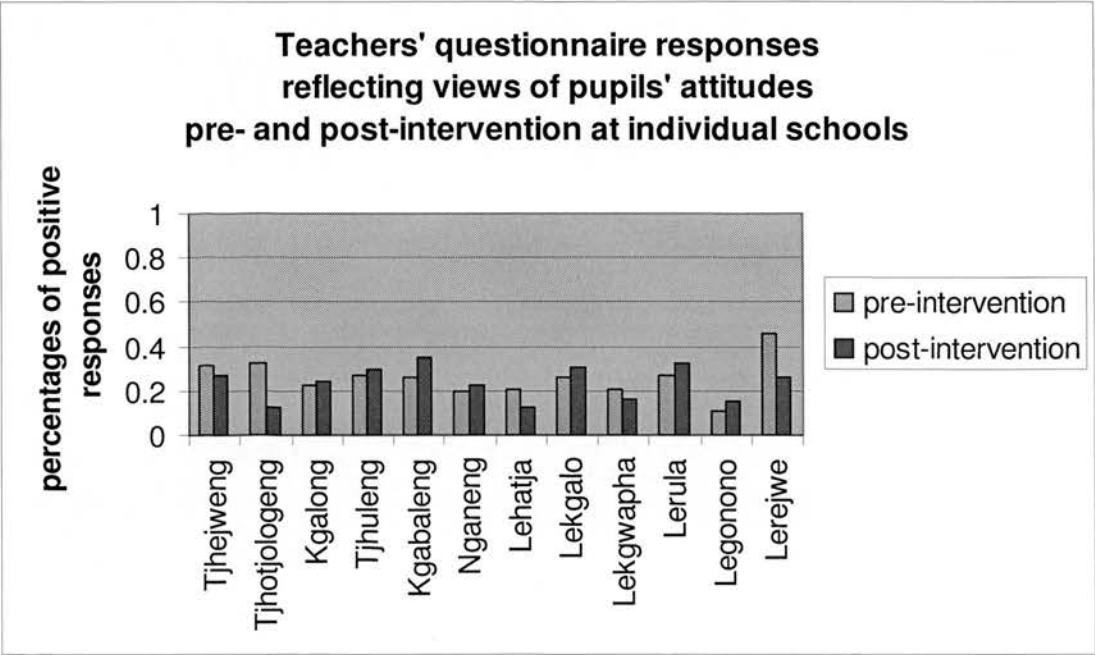
For the items which disclose teachers' confidence through ratings of their own input percentages in comparator schools drop from term one to term three and rise slightly in the same time in intervention schools. The rise is especially remarkable in the BaSarwa village Lekgalo, where the coordinator had welcomed the concept of ICAE and the entire staff had shown interest and support for the project.

When comparing results for comparator schools with results from intervention schools combined I had realised a drop in the positive response to the item 'I manage to teach these children well' in comparator schools from 70% to 50%. The analysis of responses in individual schools shows that this was mainly due to a drop at the two schools Tjhejweng and Tjhotjologeng. I had also realised that in intervention schools only 60% of the teachers thought in term three that the children liked the school, compared to 80% in comparator schools. The low overall scores in intervention schools were caused by extreme low scores in the two schools Legonono and Lehatja. Both schools suffered high drop-out rates, Legonono mainly due to poor conditions at the hostels, Lehatja due to the fact that families had been located to the village very recently and were still moving, accompanied by their children, between villages and settlements,

The following diagram shows teachers' views of pupils' and parents' attitudes pre- and post-intervention in six comparator schools and six intervention schools. The aggregation includes the following six items: 'children at our school are easy to teach', 'I would send my own children to this school', 'pupils at this school are well mannered',



‘pupils at this school are hard working’, ‘pupils at this school tend to speak their mother tongue in class’ (scores inverted) and ‘parents at this school are cooperative’.



**Figure 9-21: Teachers’ view of pupils’ attitudes in six comparator schools and six intervention schools pre- and post-intervention.**

Teachers generally view the pupils’ attitudes to a much lesser degree positively than they do their own input (Fig. 9-20 and 9-21). At ten schools between 20% and 30% of the teachers’ responses reflect a positive view in term one, in term three between 10% and 30%; especially in the comparator school Tjhotjologeng a 20% drop from 30% to 10% is remarkable. In the research school Lerezwe 45% of the teachers expressed a positive view of pupils’ attitudes in term one, but the score dropped to the average level of 25% in term three. In Legonono, where tensions amongst teaching staff and between teachers and the community had erupted into open conflict, only 10% of the teachers in term one and 15% in term three express a positive view of their pupils’ attitudes.

**Question 10:** Does the teachers’ view of their own input and their view of pupils’ attitudes depend partly on the general working atmosphere at school?

Does ICAE have the potential to improve teachers' view of their own input and the pupils' attitudes by improving the general working atmosphere at school?

**Question 11:** Does ICAE have the potential to improve the situation at the hostels and in the classroom by involving parents in order to facilitate a safer living environment which is conducive to learning, free of embarrassment, excessive beating and sexual harassment, thereby promoting cultural recognition of the learners with the effect of improvement of attendance?

#### **9.4.4 Outstanding Results for Individual Items**

Some outstanding results for individual items at individual intervention schools are shown below. Tables in appendix F give an overview of all results:

**Q1/E2:** An average of 10% of the teachers finds the pupils easy to teach. In Lerula it was no teacher in term one but two teachers (18%) in term three. In Lerejwe four teachers found pupils easy to teach in term one, only one teacher in term three.

**Possible explanation:** The school in Lerejwe had won a prize for the best standard seven result in 2004 in the sub-district; this was officially announced in term one 2005.

**Q2/E3:** An average of 50% of the teachers says they like living in the village of their school. In Lekgalo and in Lekgwapha this level drops from an about average level in term one to a low 29% (two teachers) and 25% (four teachers) respectively level in term three. In Legonono the level rises from about 20% (three teachers) in term one to about 40% (six teachers) in term three. In Lerejwe it remains highest at about 80% level (seven teachers).

**Possible explanation:** The school in Legonono suffered an open conflict with the community in term one 2005. Lerejwe had been recently connected with Molepolole through a new tarred road.

Q3/E4: 80% of all teachers say they have friends in the community. In Lekgalo only 60% (four) of the teachers said so in term one, but all said to have friends in the community in term three. In Legonono in term one only 50% (seven teachers) said they had friends in the community, in term three it were 64% (nine teachers).

**Possible explanation:** Teachers in Lekgalo made contact with several villagers in school who had been engaged in teaching within the auspices of my research project. Legonono teachers had in term three just recovered from the conflict with the village community.

Q4/E5: 90% of all teachers say they have learned some of the local language with no major deviation in villages.

Q5/E6: About 60% of all teachers believe to teach the children well. In Lehatja the level drops from an average in term one (five teachers) to 25% in term three (two teachers). In Lekgalo it rises from a 14% low in term one (one teacher) to an average in term three (four teachers).

**Possible explanation:** The school in Lehatja experienced from term one to term three a remarkable decrease of pupils' enrolment due to children absconding from school. In Lekgalo the teachers were actively involved in discussions regarding the ICAE project and, I assume, felt hereby encouraged in their daily work.

Q6/E8: In term one an average of 43% of the teachers say they would send their own child to their school of posting, in term three only 33% said they were prepared to do so. In Lehatja only one teacher (12.5%) was prepared to send his own child to his school of posting in term one, in term two they were two teachers. In Lerula 60% of the teachers (ten) were prepared to do so in term three, in Lerejwe all teachers in term one, only 45% (four teachers) in term three.

**Possible explanations:** The high percentage of teachers in Lerejwe in term one who were prepared to send their own child to their school of posting I reason with the fact mentioned before, that Lerejwe had won a prize for best standard seven results in the sub

district in 2004. I assume that the low percentage in Lehatja is caused by the high fluctuation of pupils which makes planned cumulative teaching difficult.

Q7/E9: About 37% of the teachers saw the pupils as well mannered. In Lehatja it was only one teacher in term one and in term three (12.5%) In Lekgalo in term one three teachers (43%) found the pupils to be well mannered, in term three six teachers (86%).

**Possible explanations:** In Lehatja teachers obviously associate 'absconding from school' with 'not liking school' and 'being ill mannered'. In Lekgalo I pride myself on having improved some teachers' attitudes towards their pupils through introducing ideas of ICAE.

Q8/E10: About 18% of the teachers in term one and 14% in term three saw their pupils as hard working with no major deviations.

Q9/E11: About 87% of the teachers say that the pupils speak their mother tongue in class with no major deviations (the item was inverted to match the pattern of positive statements).

Q10/E12: About 72% of all teachers say that their pupils like the school. In Lehatja and in Legonono less than half the teachers believe so, in Lehatja only one teacher in term one, two in term three; in both schools children often absent themselves from school.

**Possible explanation:** Legonono is a boarding school with a large proportion of boarders. My observations show that especially children who have to leave their homes to be accommodated in hostels tend to refuse to go back to school after holidays at home. Lehatja is located near a game reserve. Most parents had moved from varying settlements inside the reserve to this newly created village, they had not yet permanently settled and moved frequently to other places, accompanied by their children. As mentioned above, teachers obviously associate 'poor school attendance' with 'disliking school'. In Lekgalo all teachers believe that their pupils like the school. In Lekgalo the coordinator had accepted the idea of ICAE and invited several cultural practitioners to

class. In her class only one child refused to come to school regularly, 100% of the teacher believed that the children liked the school.

Q11/E13: About 33% of the teachers see the parents as cooperative. In Lehatja in term one it was 63% (five teachers), going down to 25% (two teachers) in term three. In Legonono in term one only one teacher saw the parents as cooperative (7%), in term three, three teachers.

**Possible explanation:** Teachers in Legonono experienced the conflict between teachers and villagers.

Q12/E15: About 80% of all teachers see their colleagues as cooperative, in Lehatja, Lekgalo and in Lerejwe even all teachers in term three. Again, in Legonono only 29% (four teachers) perceive their colleagues as cooperative.

**Possible explanation:** Again, I assume the conflict with villagers had an effect on the cooperation amongst teachers.

E1: About 22% of the teachers see their pupils as clean and tidy with no major deviations.

E7: About 23% of the teachers say that their pupils solve their problems peacefully. There are no major deviations.

E14: About 33% of the teachers say that their pupils answer freely in class with no major deviations.

**Question 12:** How will I know whether results are influenced by my intervention or by extra-intervention factors?

**Question 13:** Is the potential of ICAE to change teachers' attitudes towards pupils dependent on the teachers becoming actively involved in its implementation?

## **9.5 Teachers' Post- Intervention Additional Comments**

The teachers had been asked to make unguided additional comments on the form provided. As the comments were unguided they reflect to a certain extent the teachers' free associations.

By far the most comments from the teachers related to apportioning the blame for poor performance and attendance to the villagers, the parents as well as the pupils. Parents were accused by 40 teachers of being uncooperative and by 32 teachers of being irresponsible in caring for their children. Accordingly, in the questionnaire 68% had expressed their assumption that parents were not cooperative.

### **A Teacher in Lehatja**

'The pupils generally are not clean, as through observation they are influenced by their home background, as there is lack of support and love from some parents. They ignore their children when coming to school without seeing whether they are clean or not. Some of their parents look dirty, so the pupils develop this behaviour from them.'

### **A Teacher in Lerula**

'The community also have negative attitude with teachers from outside the village. They are tribalistic. They don't like people from outside Lerula. The parents are not cooperate [cooperative] in school, even during open/parents day, they do not attend to get reports, rather send [pupils'] elder brothers/sisters. Most of them even do not pay development fee for their children.'

Nineteen teachers added comments generally suggesting finding ways of improving the cooperation with parents.

The pupils were accused of laziness, lacking motivation to perform academically (26 comments) and absconding from school (22 comments) for no reasons. This is in accordance with the questionnaire result that 86% of the teachers do not perceive the pupils as hard working.

### **A Teacher in Tjhotjologeng**

‘We are not able to teach pupils well because they don’t cooperate, they never talk in class but during break time or school out, they shout especially using their mother tongue and here in school we tried to encourage them practice English so that it can be easy for them to communicate ..... but ..... they really don’t border [bother].’

Thirty two teachers complain that pupils have the tendency to use their mother tongue Shekgalagari or Sesarwa in class, which is confirmed by 88% of the teachers through the questionnaire.

Twenty nine teachers complain that lack of resources like TV, IT-media and copying facilities or even chalk makes it difficult or even impossible for them to provide pupils with better quality lessons.

### **A Teacher in Lehatja**

‘Because of distance, our schools also receive resources and material very late. For example we can have a shortage of chalk the whole term, using old dry ones which are difficult to write with.’

Out of the 40 teachers who complained that parents were uncooperative, 32 were from comparator schools, only eight from intervention schools. But from the 19 teachers who



suggested improvements in cooperation with parents, only six were from comparator schools but 13 from intervention schools.

**Question 14:** Does ICAE improve the teachers' understanding that cooperation with parents demands, as a precondition, the teachers' preparedness and initiation for cooperation?

From the 26 teachers who complained about pupils' lack of motivation 16 came from comparator schools, only 10 from intervention schools. In accordance, in the questionnaires 16% of the teachers in intervention schools expressed their view that pupils were hard working against 12% in comparator schools.

**Question 15:** Does ICAE improve the teachers' view on pupils' motivation to participate actively in lessons?

## **9.6 Information Obtained from Coordinators**

- a) I analyzed questionnaire results for all coordinators.
- b) I interviewed all seven coordinators for a review of their involvement in ICAE and
- c) I handed them a form to supply me with names, skills and involvement in class of cultural practitioners.
- d) In order to focus coordinators on pupils' abilities, away from negative attributions, I gave them another list to supply me with names and extra mural skills of pupils.
- e) I gave each coordinator a single-use camera and asked to take photos of events within the project in order to capture the coordinator's focus.

9.6.1 Questionnaire Response: Coordinators

The following diagrams show the pre- and post intervention questionnaire results for the two aggregated items ‘coordinators’ attitudes towards pupils’ and ‘coordinators view of own effort to cooperate with the village community’:

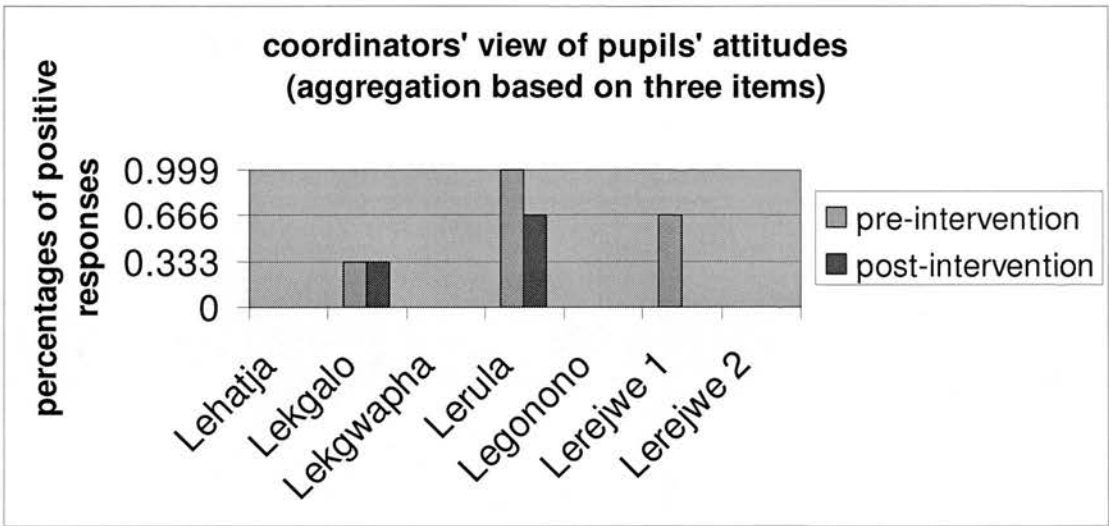


Figure 9-22: The coordinators’ view of pupils’ attitudes based on three items

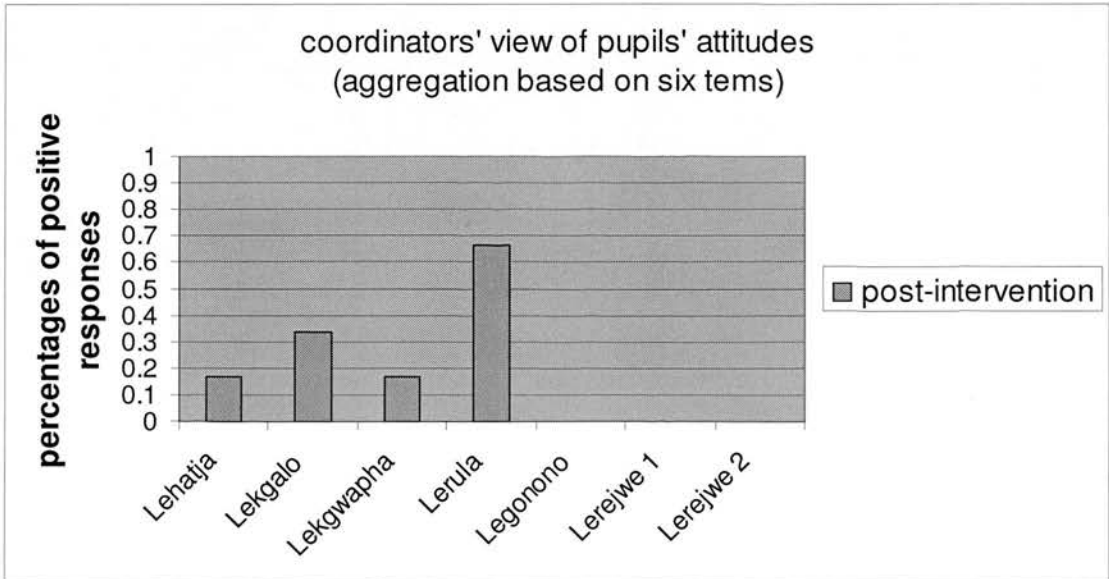
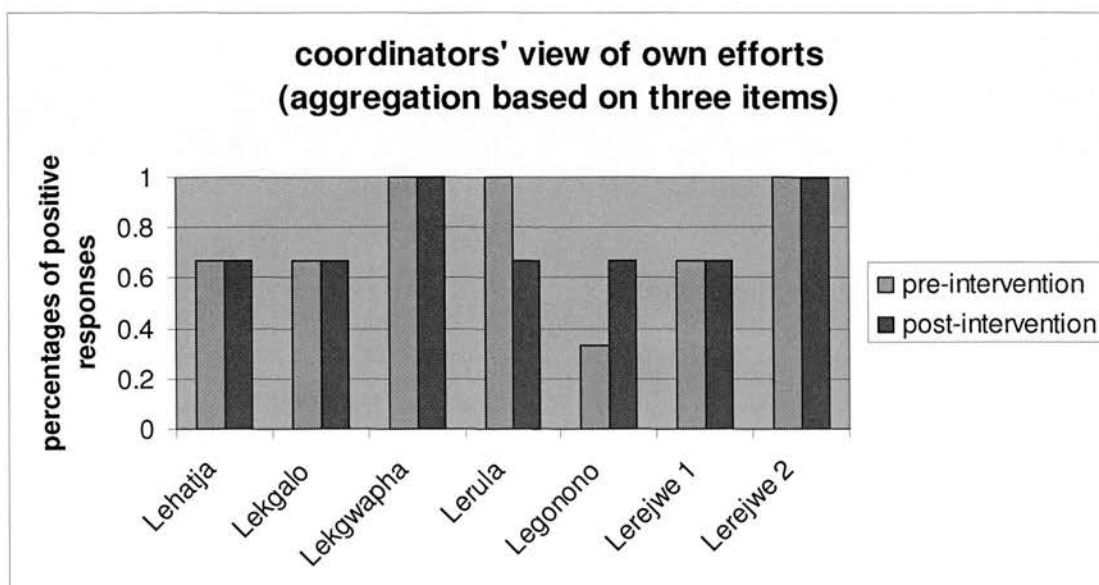


Figure 9-23: The coordinators’ view of pupils’ attitudes based on six items, including the three items only added in the post intervention questionnaire

Based on three items, answering the pre intervention questionnaire, only the coordinators from Lekgalo, Lerula and one coordinator from Lerejwe expressed any positive views of pupils' attitudes, the coordinator in Lerula through all aggregated items. In the post intervention questionnaires only the coordinators from Lekgalo and Lerula expressed any positive views. These two coordinators were the most supportive of the research activities. If six items are considered, including the three items only added in the post intervention questionnaire, at four schools coordinators expressed some positive views in term three, none at the two schools Legonono and Lerejwe, where the coordinators were least supportive of the research activities.

**Question 16:** Does teachers' preparedness to apply child centred methods and to cooperate with community members depend on their view of pupils' attitudes? Might ICAE change teachers' view of pupils' attitudes, consequently improving their teaching methods as evidenced by more child centredness and openness?



**Figure 9-24:** The coordinators' view of own efforts based on three items pre- and post-intervention

In the post intervention questionnaire all coordinators ticked 'yes' for at least two out of the three items.

### **9.6.2 Interview: Project Coordinators**

I introduce the method applied for interviewing coordinators. Results are shown afterwards for each coordinator individually. I opened the interview with formal greetings and the introductory statement:

‘Since January you are involved in the project ICAE with the aim to support pupils who do not speak Setswana as their mother tongue by involving villagers in classroom teaching.’

At the beginning I let the interview develop unguided to encourage articulation of free associations. Towards the end of the interview I mention the topics out of the list below which might not yet have been covered.

- Observed/experienced benefits or disadvantages for pupils
- Observed/experienced acceptance by pupils
- Observed/experienced acceptance by villagers
- Observed/experienced logistic problems in cooperation
- Observed/experienced role-conflicts as a teacher

Extension statements:

- Villagers have different useful skills:
- Villagers have different teaching abilities:
- I have learned to understand another culture:
- I have learned to understand my pupils' background:
- I have discovered more (mural & extra-mural) abilities of pupils:

### 9.6.2.1 The Coordinator in Lehatja

One benefit of ICAE he discovered during the one project lesson he conducted in cooperation with a villager was that it connects pupils' homes with school activities:

‘...there is benefit in this and that, pupils now they come to know that ..... even those things that being done at home they ..... correspond with what we are being told to do at school’.

He also imagined that the idea of ICAE had the potential to relieve the teachers from teaching skills they do not master:

‘I feel much interested and I feel I would be relieved [in a] number of things that I am not really good at. Because with CaPA, I don't know whether you've discovered that most of [us] people, we are not very good at CaPA and normally ..... it's not being done well in schools. So, but there's lot of CaPA and some other subjects in the village [you find skills in villagers which could be utilised for teaching CaPA and other subjects]. Like in just going around I see people participating in a number of things. And my feeling is if maybe those people could really be interested to come to school, maybe I would be relieved....’

He saw ICAE as beneficial as it improved the self esteem of members of the most marginalised ethnic group of BaSarwa. When asked whether he thought the relationship between the villagers and the school could somehow improve through this method he answered:

‘Really it can, .....the Basarwa normally, they always feel that they are left behind and feel that they are not part of the village, even if they do have the skills, they would say, “... being a MoSarwa, what can I do? I am just a MoSarwa”.’

The coordinator of Lehatja had experienced that one villager was prepared to come to school to get involved in teaching, but he faced problems getting others involved as they had other commitments:

‘Mr P., I would say, he likes really the idea of just meeting with other... because he is in a number of committees. So people of that kind, normally you’d say, he is already ready to help to take part in the development....It is only that it’s like most of them really they are always saying they are committed.’

The coordinator had found a solution to the problem that some villagers refused to come to school to present their skills:

‘I have even decided to just go and see how (the craftsperson) is doing it, then take some other pupils that are a little bit older, go there and observe; and maybe the presentation could be [by the older pupils] for the other pupils.’

He discovered weaknesses which demand the teacher’s cooperation:

‘.....he [Mr. P.] doesn’t have the skill to work with all pupils, he will just concentrate [on his presentation] whether pupils are concentrating or not..... he tries to take too much of time doing himself. They don’t benefit because there would be some few who are just near to the demonstration, and far to that, they cannot see exactly what is happening. That’s when they decided to go astray..... The difference is just management, in how maybe pupils sit, because I had to just arrange them in such a way that maybe they can all see what he is doing. But otherwise I would say, maybe with time it could become useful and good.’

### **Analysis of the coordinator's questionnaire responses:**

When answering the pre intervention questionnaire in term one he had made no extra comments regarding living in the village and pupils' behaviour and he did not answer five out of the twelve questions but wrote 'uncertain'. Through the seven questions he answered he demonstrated a rather negative view of the pupils' attitudes. When filling in the post intervention questionnaire in term three he answered all the questions, still attributing pupils' behaviour negatively. He wrote a long comment reflecting on pupils' and parents' attitudes; especially BaSarwa parents' reluctance to participate in school activities he explained by their attitude to 'despise themselves'. The fact that they all come to collect pupils' progress reports end of the year proved to him their 'eagerness to find pupils progressing' and he sees a chance to help them overcome their fear of entering the school by encouraging the parents. He perceived and expressed a similar attitude in pupils who defend their being untidy by stating that as BaSarwa they had no money to buy soap. As he had explained to me orally before, he again commented explicitly in writing that he would much more enjoy living in Lehatja if there were permission and incentives to keep livestock in the area [keeping livestock around Lehatja is reserved for BaSarwa who were given cattle by the government as compensation for leaving their settlements in the game reserve].

The coordinator's response to my request to supply me with a list of especially skilled pupils and adult villagers and to take photos of ICAE activities:

He never supplied me with a list of pupils who had special extra mural skills, but he handed over a list with names of five cultural practitioners he had contacted in the village in order to engage them in ICAE. One of the villagers listed had been at the school to demonstrate his skills to the pupils. The coordinator returned 16 photographs: Six photographs show diverse cultural practitioners demonstrating their skills to pupils, eight show pupils practising the skills. Two photographs were obviously mis-shots.



### **Summary: The Coordinator at Lehatja School**

The coordinator of Lehatja had welcomed the idea of introducing ICAE enthusiastically from the beginning and was very supportive during my visits. In my absence he did not put any efforts in implementing the concept. His interview was characterized by a frequent change of praising the idea and excuses for not having fulfilled agreements. I got the impression that he truly appreciated advantages ICAE could have for the pupils, but that he failed to avail enough time for its implementation.

His rather negative view of pupils' attitudes had not changed in the course of my project, but I discovered an improvement in his preparedness to reflect and to search for solutions. As a benefit for pupils he put emphasis on his impression that through ICAE 'what they do at school corresponds with what they do at home'. Accordingly, his focus shown through the choice of motives for taken photographs was clearly on the pupils' and the villagers' active involvement. He also appreciated the support he gets through ICAE as the involvement of villagers with skills which he might not have, helps him teaching CaPA lessons. Most importantly, his attitude towards the villagers changed from 'they are unable' to 'they are able but they despise themselves', resulting in recognizing improvement through ICAE and suggesting ways of further improvement.

He enviously observed BaSarwa being given destitute rations and cattle as compensation for loss of their settlements in the game reserve resulting, in my opinion, in a rather laissez-fair or couldn't-care-less attitude of dealing with pupils: neither authoritarian nor empathetic.

#### **9.6.2.2 The Coordinator of Lekgalo**

The coordinator of Lekgalo discovered advantages for her pupils through integrating subjects in ICAE:

'I can say the going isn't that tough. And what I can say .....we are doing well. .... I think it will work because these kids .....they enjoy the lesson if such situation [integrating subjects in ICAE] happens to them, you see? Because we find that they already ..... remember what they did in the past. And as such their participation becomes so good and everyone tries by all means to say something. I think it will work very well by the time we come to connect CaPA and other subjects because in CaPA they will be doing it practically and when we come to another one [subject], it will be so easy for them to ..... make the connection.'

She gave an example of a positive social development as a result of ICAE:

'She [a girl of her class] likes to just stay at home doing nothing with small kids, not coming to school. Like I say, she is one of the pupils who are doing well in class. And then her parents always bring her to school. ... When she comes, crying like that, parents beating and doing all the like, there is this one, B., I have written his name on this list [a list she prepared showing pupils with special abilities]. He will run. That girl, she will find her table without a chair and then, sometimes, she will come to school without a pen. This small boy will volunteer to run away and to look for a chair for her. He will say 'where is your pen?' If she says 'I have no pen', he will find something for her to write with. .... I have seen that they [BaSarwa] really feel pity for other people; they are willing to help each other. It's sometimes that they don't have whatever to help with, but they are willing to help. But then the kids.....I think they are developing something positive, for caring for others living within the classroom.'

And she gave an example of the development of self reliance due to ICAE:

'We had another lesson whereby they are to use waste [material]. I asked them to do anything useful or anything that can be shown up. And others

they designed these small wire cars from found wire. It is only that we have limited materials in places like Lekgalo. And then they said we need this to do this, teacher. But then we find that thing is unavailable. But they know that they need it that thing so that they make their projects or their products to look nice. And then they really showed some interest, those things they did them without my help. They just do whatever they know with this material, “with this material I can do this”.’

She also saw an advantage in the fact that villagers who cooperated with her in lessons communicated with children in Shekgalagari:

‘..... the advantage is that the kids they are on the safe side when we are working with parents, because they sometimes present their lessons in Sekgalagadi [Setswana spelling of Shekgalagari] which really becomes easy for kids to comprehend whatever is presented to them. .... once we work with villagers, really the lesson is very enjoyable, because they keep on saying those Sekgalagadi words so that the kids really can get what they are supposed to.’

The coordinator observed difficulties for pupils to transfer knowledge acquired with the help of villagers into Setswana or English:

‘..... it becomes a serious problem when I try to come as the teacher trying to bring in something that at the end I will test, because it becomes difficult for them to transfer what they learnt in Sekgalagadi and bring it into English or Setswana.’

She expressed her impression that through ICAE she had developed skills which are useful for working in communities made up of different ethnic groups:

‘I am learning and I think this will help me as time goes on, knowing how to handle people finding them in their area, you see. I think this, it won’t end here in Lekgalo. It will be something that I will have to take .....

where ever I will be going. I will have to sit down and start to review what ever I have done. I managed to do work at Lekgalo because of 1-2-3, and even here in e.g. Lehatja, I can do well, because I can try to employ those methods I did at Lekgalo. And I think this really is very good because this culture of BaSarwa is very difficult, and even the pupils themselves they are very difficult to work with, if you don't really sit down and study... or bring in such methods like this one. I think this method is very good because it links us with BaSarwa. It really connects us.

The coordinator of Lekgalo got the impression that ICAE improved the villagers' self esteem and their attitude towards the school:

‘..... it brings them to what they are expected to do, because you find that they will keep on saying “I don't know how to do this, I don't know how to do that!” But having something to present ..... leads him or her (to value) that thing he or she says they don't know ..... The children and the parents, you see, they tend to ..... just belittle themselves by the things which they can do. .... The method encourages them and it puts them in a position to know that “Ah, I can do this; just like other people I can do this!” You see? ..... There is a big change, because when we arrived here, these parents they never cared to come here to say “how is the child doing?” or “teacher, I was just saying hi”. But as for now you always see the parents coming to school even for different reasons, or maybe coming .... to other classes, even if it might not be my class. But one thing I am happy with is that parents now are just.... working with teachers, you see? They find themselves having something to do in school to improve their pupils' work. .... that parental involvement is coming up.’

She also observed her colleagues' appreciation of the project:

'..... They [colleagues] always come to me asking for help. I do believe that they come with that hope, Ms. P. can help us, you see, so that we show whatever ..... we have learnt during the time of working with parents or during this strategy of involving parents in the teaching and learning.'

The coordinator perceived the villagers as cooperative and willing to participate in classroom teaching:

'.....next term when we need somebody to help us, because we are having topics like pattern-making ... which I think will need a lot of resources to help us on that one. But like I said last time, I never have any problems with these people in the village, what I can say is that they are willing to help us.'

She could not invest more time in ICAE as she faced the problem of lack of time for teaching:

'It is only that in our schools we have a lot to do. .... we use a lot of time maybe sitting down in the staffroom, we are attending workshops, doing official work rather than being at the class maybe trying to do something that will benefit kids. We do things that are more....administrative. Last time we were sitting here and I was querying that I have set some topics, but as for now I have not covered them, the reason being that I am always out of the classroom and the time is not waiting for me. ....this syllabus, CaPA on its own, it has a lot of content and it needs time, a lot of time. And having our time being occupied by lots of things, official or administrative work and class-work, we find that we are not able to cover whatever we are intending to. And as a result, I don't know whether we will be able to finish the syllabus by the end of the year and the kids are to sit for their attainment tests.'

She realised that the villagers need the support of the teacher as they usually lack teaching skills:

‘I know that they don’t have those skills of teaching. And we find that after doing those chatting and whatever with the kids, that’s when I will try to organise the content so that it becomes presentable, and whenever I want to test it becomes easy. Even the kids, I will have to introduce them to vocabulary that they will meet during the testing, vocabulary in the books.

She put effort in welcoming and comforting cultural practitioners in her classroom:

‘But one thing I normally ..... ask them to do, is ..... not to put themselves that [she raises her voice and makes a forceful movement] “I am teaching!” You see, [she slows down her speech] “take it so easy, so that pupils also can enjoy the lesson. Present things just like ..... playing with these kids or I am doing this as with my younger brothers and sisters at home”. I don’t have problems with working with them, because one thing I have really given myself the time: to understand them, those people. What is it that they find that is good for them? And what is it that they don’t like when they work with somebody? And one thing I can say is that these people ..... they always liked to be looked down [others tend to look down upon them], you see? And then, on my side, I don’t want them to experience ..... that the eastern people [people like her with BaTswana ethnicity] look them down. [They tend to say] “us BaShaga [a BaKgalagari sub-group], whatever we do, people look down upon us” And then I don’t want them to keep on saying that whenever they work with me. Because the first thing I normally do is that I give the chance and I really open the floor for them so that they feel free to do whatever I have asked them to come and help me with. I will just give them time, talking with them so that they feel free. .... When I move around in the

village I see them, I ask them: “Why don’t you ever visit me at home? I want you to visit me, I always come in the village and you never visit me, why?” Some of the things you need to talk ..... while we are seated down, not in the classroom, you see? Sometimes I will ..... invite them to my home or when I want to talk to one of them I say “tomorrow, please, I want your help on this”. When they get home, I will try by all means to share everything that I have with them. [Sharing food is seen as an important gesture of welcoming someone].’

The coordinator mentioned a problem of being unable to cover the syllabus, a problem all schools in the area are facing:

‘..... you’ll find that the children are going to write tests on something that they have not been taught, which is not good at all, because at the end we are going to fail to evaluate ..... how they are performing. .... It is really going to give us a serious problem. Because I am going to say “I am not answerable for that, because I told you I didn’t teach these children, so how can I test children on something that I have not taught?” Because this CRT [criterion referenced testing] it states that you test on what you have taught. But then, what we are doing is the opposite of what CRT needs us to do. .... Those are some of the things which really trouble me, because if as the teacher you have not covered or you have not finished the syllabus, you cannot say pupils have failed. The first blame comes to the teacher. .... Before you can blame the kids, you blame yourself. But these our leaders, they don’t look at it to say there are some circumstances which really disturbed. They don’t look at that.’

### **Analysis of the coordinator’s questionnaire responses:**

There was no difference between her questionnaire responses in term one and in term three. The coordinator perceived the children as well mannered but not hard working



and the parents and colleagues as cooperative. She gave lack of further training in her profession as a reason for not liking to stay in the village.

The coordinator's response to my request to supply me with a list of especially skilled pupils and adult villagers and to take photos of ICAE activities:

She provided me with a list of seven cultural practitioners who all had been actively involved in ICAE lessons and a list with nine names of pupils with extra-curricular abilities, including four with social skills. The coordinator had made 19 photographs, all of which were ICAE-related: Fourteen showed diverse cultural practitioners involved in practising skills with the pupils, three showed products displayed in the classroom, one portrayed a cultural practitioner sitting in the classroom and one photograph showed the coordinator herself sitting at her desk.

### **Summary: The Coordinator at Lekgalo School**

The coordinator of Lekgalo was the most accepting and appreciating coordinator of the ICAE project. When I started the project she showed a rather reserved attitude towards the village community and she was harsh towards the pupils in her class. But soon she accompanied me to visit cultural practitioners in the village and invited them to participate in ICAE lessons even in my absence; and most remarkably, she developed an attitude of empathy and understanding towards her pupils and the villagers. The fact that she noticed and appreciated positive developments through the ICAE-input in pupils as well as in adult community members shows her high level of reflection and sensitization. Most of her photographs illustrate the ease her pupils and the cultural practitioners displayed in ICAE-lessons. She mentioned an improvement of adult villagers' self esteem and attitude towards the school and I am especially impressed by her appreciation of the development of social skills in some pupils who she perceived as increasingly empathetic and independent.

The coordinator also reflects on her own development by realizing that she had acquired useful skills in cooperating with members of a community with different ethnicity. The method she described to comfort the cultural practitioners while they were helping in class and her evaluation of the villagers' input shows that the coordinator in Lekgalo had internalised the basic concept of ICAE. She emphasizes the advantage of integrating subjects and the use of the children's mother tongue by villagers to help pupils participate in class.

The coordinator enjoys the colleagues' and the village community's support. Nevertheless, she critically reflects on cultural practitioners' teaching skills, but finds solutions to overcome possible weaknesses by helping in the organization and the structuring of the lessons.

### **9.6.2.3 The Coordinator of Lekgwapha**

The coordinator finds the project 'just ok':

'Ever since I started the program, it is just o.k. Both, the parents and the teachers, particularly myself, are just o.k. Even the pupils they were coping with the situation.'

She sees benefits for the pupils:

'It helped a lot because some of them (the pupils), after that they managed to do those things practically, they liked it, they enjoyed it, of which I think will help them in the future as they grow up. ...Before these parents came to teach them they could not do these things. They did not know how to weave, they did not know how to draw well, they didn't know how to model, but after they were taught, they are now eager to draw, to weave. Even when it comes to CaPA lessons, pupils are good at CaPA now. ...I see a lot of improvement. I am happy about that. You helped me a lot. A little bit they [pupils considered 'slow learners'] have

improved; because this one got ten, which is half of CaPA, this one eight [points out of 20 in CaPA-assessment]. The thing is, sometimes they are lazy to write. Then you have to [she makes pushing movements]. These [pupils considered 'fast learners'] benefited a lot; because here, you can just look at their results, not only in CaPA but also in other subjects. But four didn't manage.'

She sees benefits for herself:

'For myself I benefited a lot, because I didn't know how to make clay pots, how to bray the leather, how to mix paints, but now I can make something even better than what they did now. And I enjoyed it. I did not know how to do these things like collage and mosaic, now I know.'

She observed that parents had lost some fear of entering the school:

'When I came here it was different, because sometimes I asked pupils to go and call their parents to come and talk about their pupil's work, they didn't come. But now they are free because I also do regular visits to them. I can just spend an hour with may be Mrs. M. [the lady who did pottery with the class]. Like last time, I visited her, we had a nice chat.'

### **Analysis of the coordinator's questionnaire responses:**

The coordinator of Lekgwapha expressed a negative view of pupils' attitudes in both, the pre-intervention and the post-intervention questionnaires. Differing from her response in term one she perceived the parents as cooperative in term three. In both papers she bemoans the shortage of teaching material in her school.

The coordinator's response to my request to supply me with a list of especially skilled pupils and adult villagers and to take photos of ICAE activities:

She supplied me with a list of four cultural practitioners who all have been in her class to help teaching lessons in the frame of the ICAE project. She also handed over a list with the names of nine pupils who have extra curricular abilities, except one, all others in modelling and weaving, skills which had been presented by villagers.

Already in term two the coordinator had returned seven photographs taken with the first camera and she asked for a second camera to be enabled to capture more events on photographs. Three of the first seven photographs show children displaying products, three show two cultural practitioners preparing modelling clay and one photograph shows just pupils sitting in the classroom. Using the second camera the coordinator produced 38 photographs, twelve were school related, and the remaining 26 were obviously taken on a private wedding ceremony. Out of the twelve school-related photographs six expose cultural practitioners at work without showing any pupils, four show pupils displaying products and two show products only.

### **Summary: The Coordinator at Lekgwapha School**

The coordinator of Lekgwapha was an untrained teacher whose efforts in teaching had been praised by the head teacher. She enthusiastically welcomed being involved in the ICAE project and put a lot of energy in supporting it by inviting frequently different villagers to class to cooperate in art projects. She, unfortunately, failed to fully internalise the concept of ICAE as she often disregarded aspects of interdisciplinary, interculturalism and child-centeredness and mostly focused on the acquisition of skills to produce decorative objects by pupils and by her. Accordingly, her photographs show no pupils in action but predominantly products on display. She expressed an unchanged negative attitude towards pupils, describing 'pushing' as a useful method to help 'slow learners' overcome their laziness; but she managed in her own view to reduce some villagers' fear of entering the school premises by visiting them in their homes and inviting them for presentations and she perceived them as increasingly cooperative.

#### 9.6.2.4 The Coordinator of Lerula

She saw the villagers' willingness to support teaching in school as rather sceptical:

'It wasn't going well because ..... I arranged with them, but some did not turn up. They have reasons. I went to their place; to some of them I sent children. I went to the chiefs; they told me that they are too busy. Even the VDC chairman, I went to his place, he said he didn't [have time]. Mr. S. came, but he came here and told me that he is working, he can't. Only one came, Mr. B.'

She saw ICAE as a promising concept and praised the effect the one visit she initiated had:

'The pupils learned a skill and became free to participate, even children considered 'slow learners'; and I also gained by acquiring a new skill. The children were so excited; ... they were asking him more questions. More so that Mr. B. was ... speaking Setswana plus Sekgalagadi. The kids were so free to talk to him and Mr. B., it was difficult for him to control the class. Because they were talking, they were asking, they were... pushing him to see, wanted him to help. And even me, I learnt something from him. I learnt from him, that weaving with wire. [When the children got over excited] that is when I interfered in controlling the class. The advantage is that the pupils in the class, they like people ...from outside to come and teach them. They give them their attention, [more] than us. If they could have come, the villagers, I think it would be more advantageous to me and to the kids, because ... the children will be getting something from them and me, I will be getting something from them. I think they help the whole class, even those slow to learn. Because the parents [cultural practitioners] they speak the language they are capable, they understand. And they are free, the slow learners, to ... ask from the parents. This project, I think most of it they do the work using

their hands, not just listening and listening and listening. Like Mr. B. he was showing them how to weave.'

She assumed that Mr. B. enjoyed participating in the project:

'I did not ask him [Mr. B.] much about coming to school, but ... I think he was enjoying. He even said if I need [had] more questions I can go and ask him; or if I need more clarification on how to weave using wire, I can go and ask. I think he was enjoying.'

At the beginning of the research the coordinator felt a bit uncomfortable visiting villagers in their homes but later she reported having contacted several cultural practitioners; and when asked whether she could contact them through the children she replied:

'Yes. I can [contact them through] children, but sometimes I prefer to go myself, because sometimes they [the children] can forget.'

### **Analysis of the coordinators questionnaire responses:**

Through answering the questionnaires the coordinator demonstrates an unchanged positive attitude towards her pupils, she only bemoans their untidiness in term three and attributes this to neglect by parents.

The coordinators response to my request to supply me with a list of especially skilled pupils and adult villagers and to take photos of ICAE activities:

She listed two suitable cultural practitioners, one had been to her class and the second person had no time as he was employed. She also wrote the names of five pupils with extra curricular abilities on the list provided, two good in running and three good in art.

Only six out of the 24 photographs she made came out well: Two show the cultural practitioner demonstrating to the class how to weave using plastic wires, four show pupils practising the skill being taught.

### **Summary: The Coordinator at Lerula School**

The coordinator of Lerula was a calm, well organised lady. She had a positive view of her pupils and they were from the beginning relatively free to communicate with her on a relatively high level of Setswana. Her level of English was poor. She was willing to participate in the research program, certainly not enthusiastically, rather cautiously. She had put some effort in contacting several resource persons and had managed to teach one project in cooperation with a villager. The fact that many of the villagers she had contacted found no time to come to school frustrated her.

The coordinator realized that the pupils participated actively in lessons taught as part of the project and explained this mainly through the use of Shekgalagari and 'learning through doing' in the introductory phase of the lesson which helped especially 'slow learners' to understand concepts. She perceived the cultural practitioner as willing to get involved in ICAE and calm towards the pupils, but she realized that he needed some support in controlling the class. The coordinator appreciated the fact that she also had benefited through acquiring a new skill. I realized a change in her attitude as in term one she suggested making contact with villagers through children, but in term three she explained that it was advantageous for her to contact cultural practitioners personally as 'children might forget'.

#### **9.6.2.5 The Coordinator of Legonono**

In the interview she praised the idea of ICAE briefly:

'We didn't do much. But if we were following this project, it was going to be very good. The project is very good for the children all in all.'



But afterwards she gave reasons for not having supported the project over the year. She mentioned lack of time:

‘It is only that in this school we didn’t give it a chance. We don’t have enough time for this. ... Most of the time was used for the practices [choral music competitions] and afterwards we did this [pointing at beadwork examples], but this was for the whole school involving all the standards [classes]... Involving the parents from outside, I haven’t done much for it, because I didn’t have time to go out ... to see the parents. Because last..... when was it again, the education officer was here for a week. In the afternoon we sat until to eight, even up to eleven at night, to discuss school problems and such.’

And she mentioned the possibility of her own laziness:

‘It’s only that we are the ones who are maybe lazy, I don’t know.’

And she mentioned that villagers were not available:

‘But we tried to check T. [a musician], but that lady said he’s out of the village. By the time we checked him, he was not there.’

Reflecting on the one visit of a cultural practitioner she acknowledges his preparedness to come:

‘But he promised to come anytime we followed him; we were supposed to go and see how he ends [finishes up the products]. So he said he would come anytime.’

And she realised that pupils benefited from his input and from my project lessons:

‘I actually don’t see it as a disadvantage; children will learn a lot, they did learn a lot from parents. Because they were very free. They easily participated, rather than when it is us, myself or the other teacher. ...First

time I saw them, everybody was open, everyone wanted to talk, so this time they were not shy, they were not hiding themselves, I think it is a very good project.... very good for the children all in all. It was good because he was helping me. I was just there watching. I was helping here and there. He helps a lot because you have time to observe and see how the children do.'

She realised that especially 'slow learners' benefited:

'The fast learners, they always show themselves, they are always there. You don't have to look for them. But the slow ones, when ... they were dramatising, they were showing themselves, they didn't hide, they were there, doing everything, doing what all others were doing. You couldn't notice that this one is a slow learner and this one is a fast learner. They were just...[stops talking and waves her hand to show motion]. Most of these children here [pointing to BaSarwa children on the photo], they are slow learners. But they have other skills, they can dance, they can sing! They have skills, this also is needed, like this one [points at a child on photo], in the competitions she was leading, solo!'

The coordinator had realised that the pupils were motivated in preparing for the music competition and for the subject fair – and that the lecture method (the method she used exclusively) was not beneficial for the children:

'Last term we were preparing for this subject fair, Maths and Science and practical subjects fair. Most of the children were improving a lot, especially solving equations. Most of them were involved, the boys, girls were doing a lot of things. Some of them even were chosen to go the regional level. So, things like dolls, wire cars... they can do that very well. ...Even those who sometimes stay away, they come when they hear "this week is practice for subject fair". They always... [She taps her right palm on the side of her right fist - a sign for something filling up] the

school. It's an annual thing. They like doing, they enjoy everything they do. The lecture method, it is not good for them, because they learn better when they are doing.'

After working with the coordinator of Legonono for nine months she still had never been to the village to contact resource persons and she offered to contact them in school, an environment she perceived 'safer' for her interaction with villagers:

'We better inform the PTA. I think it's high time we tell them this in a PTA meeting, because they know themselves better. We can just ask them - to say "we have this project, so those of you who are good in this and this and this... I think you can come". If we say it in a PTA meeting while everybody is there, also the PTA chairman, we are trying to encourage PTA and teachers, even parents, to work together. We didn't have that in the past.'

When asked whether her view of the villagers had changed due to the ICAE program she pathologises the culture of the villagers:

'A lot, because we used to be shocked when you see them saying this "sneif" [demonstrates snuff taking gesture and laughs]. Nowadays they can just come to say "teacher, may I have 25 thebe (Botswana's currency) to go and buy [demonstrates snuff taking gesture again and laughs], my head's aching!" We just give, even the children, it is sort of their culture. We asked their parents and they said "if you don't give them, they'll go away". It is their culture; they have to sniff, yes. [She twists her face, shakes her head]. I've stayed for many years here, so I got used to most of the things.'

### **Analysis of the coordinator's questionnaire responses:**

The coordinator showed in both questionnaires a very negative view of the children in her school and of their parents. She gave as additional comments that children behaved badly and only came to school to play, not to learn and that parents rejected the teachers from the east because they wanted them to be replaced by people from their own ethnic group (in a kgotla meeting during term one villagers had complained about pupils' poor results, they had accused the teachers of ill-treating and neglecting their children and demanded from the authorities to sack the whole teaching staff).

The coordinator's response to my request to supply me with a list of especially skilled pupils and adult villagers and to take photos of ICAE activities:

After several reminders the coordinator prepared reluctantly and hastily one list with four names of cultural practitioners. She had not contacted any of these villagers; one had come to her class to present on my invitation. She also prepared after several reminders a list with the names of 14 pupils who had extra curricular skills. The coordinator never returned the disposable camera, leaving me with no photographs showing ICAE events.

### **Summary: The Coordinator at Legonono School**

The coordinator of Legonono had reluctantly agreed to function as coordinator in my project. She found it very difficult to cooperate in ICAE. From the beginning she refused out of fear of confrontations to accompany me to see cultural practitioners in their homes in the village in order to negotiate means of cooperation in the project and suggested still in term three to contact parents through PTA members. She had a very negative view of the village community, the adults as well as the children; when asked whether the project had changed her view of the community her tribalistic view unfolds:

She got used to the villagers' culture, hence she is not shocked anymore when children take snuff.

When asked to reflect on the ICAE lessons she had experienced, the coordinator mentioned benefits: She saw for the first time all pupils, including slow learners, involved in the lesson. The project lessons gave her the chance to observe pupils more closely and she realized that pupils learned much better by doing than by being lectured. As reasons for not having invested more energy in the project she mentioned lack of time and plainly laziness on her side.

#### **9.6.2.6 The Coordinators of Lerezwe**

Both coordinators praised the concept of ICAE. They tried to make me believe that they had put some effort in actively supporting the project which they actually had failed to do. I give as an example Mr. K.'s mentioning of a visit of the counsellor who supposedly had talked to the pupils:

'OK, I may simply say the children are benefiting from this project in most cases. And I think they have realised that ... we as teachers we are not the only people who can teach them. They can also get other information from the parents, anywhere from somebody from the village, which is good. Since we started with this project, since January, I think it is doing very well. ... Sometimes we invite parents, like in the last week we invited the councillor here. But he briefly talked about his duties, talking to the kids and stuff like that. And I think.... it is quite a good project.'

Later Mr. K. clarified that the counsellor only talked to teachers:

'The councillor was talking. He was in a hurry. We simply asked him and then he told us, only us teachers, his duties.'

And finally he admitted that the counsellor had only talked to the two coordinators:

‘Only the two of us, then we go and tell the kids.’

To prove the apparent success of the project Mr. K. also mentioned a speech held by a cultural practitioner – the speech was actually held long before my project was introduced to the school:

‘Last time we had Mrs. R. Actually, Lerezwe Primary School was receiving that trophy for best results.

Researcher: From last year?

‘Yes, from last year’s results. She [Mrs. R.] also mentioned that in her speech. ... She said sometimes they come to this school, they teach children. It’s not only the teachers who have to teach the children. They are sometimes invited to the school, they teach the children, that is why the school ended up getting good results.’

The second coordinator, Mrs. M., also praised the project and observed changes in the pupils’ attitudes. Her observations are only based on my presentation and a presentation I had initiated in cooperation with a cultural practitioner:

‘I think it’s running so nice because the children ... are becoming so excited to see their parents in the classroom, to see the parents participating and assisting. ...The children they do benefit, very, very, very! There is a change, because now they [pupils] are free to demonstrate, they are free to imitate and they are free to talk! I think it’s from these model lessons, why they are so free, they are so..... what can I say - imitative?’

Mrs.M. assumed that the project promotes children who learn fast rather than slow learners:

‘About three quarters of the class [improved]. Because I had four groups and then the three groups were good except this one group. Those who were already number one before [benefited].’

Mr.K. gives lack of time of both, the teachers and the villagers, as an explanation for lack of activities in the project:

‘When we run this kind of project I have realised that sometimes we are running after the syllabus. We have to finish the syllabus in a certain period. Now, if you invite somebody from outside to come and teach a certain topic, they have their commitments, which means once they have their commitments, it is not going to be easy for them to come at the right time when you will be teaching that subject. Maybe they will come after another time. On our side we are forced to cover that because we are looking at the tests! We were very busy because the second term is a busy one with the music competition, the sporting activities. It’s lack of time. But we could have had the councillor in classes, but he was in a hurry, we invited him then he says “Hey I am in a hurry, I am going to Gaborone to do this and that”. So we could have had the councillor.’

Mrs. M. adds:

‘The problem is that some of them are staying far away at the lands, cattle posts, visiting other places especially Letlhakeng and Molepolole. Mrs. R. is so engaged at work that side and maybe they refuse! We [also] didn’t have the time because some of the things we have to go through the school head; she says we have to do the right channels. Not just to see somebody in the school, we have to tell him that we want to contact so and so to come and do this in the school. But we once approached her and then she said it’s quite a good project to do that.’

Later Mrs. M. reflects on the cultural practitioners’ involvement, acknowledging that they are willing to participate but criticising their tendency to talk for a long period of time:



‘They come anytime in the school and they are willing to help. The resource people, they are very, very, very free! Free, free!! The thing is that most of them do not know how to read and write, so the writing is always done by me at the chalkboard. I take notes for them. And they are not aware that the children had a very, very short listening span. So, they used to talk, talk, talk, talk for a long time! So maybe I felt so afraid to say, “no, stop it, wait” or “let’s do this..”. So I used to give them a chance to do the blah... blah!’

### **Analysis of the coordinators’ questionnaire responses:**

The female coordinator throughout had a negative view of the pupils’ attitudes; in term one she also saw the parents as not cooperative, but this view changed towards term three.

In term one the male coordinator had a quite positive view of the pupils’ attitudes and the parents’ willingness to cooperate. His view changed in both aspects towards term three. As an additional comment he suggested to involve more villagers in classroom teaching to relieve teachers from a work overload as there was a shortage of trained teachers. This comment shows that he had not at all understood the concept of ICAE.

The coordinator’s response to my request to supply me with a list of especially skilled pupils and adult villagers and to take photos of ICAE activities:

Both coordinators produced reluctantly within a few minutes a list with all names of pupils in their classes and added indiscriminately ‘special skills’ the children had, mentioning predominantly school related skills like ‘drawing’. The coordinators had obviously misunderstood the purpose of the exercise. They neither returned the list which was supposed to be filled in with names of cultural practitioners, nor did they return the two disposable cameras, leaving me with no photographs showing ICAE events.

### **Summary: The Coordinators at Lerezwe School**

In Lerezwe, two teachers, one male, one female, taught two standard four classes in cooperation with the effect that often both classes were joined to be taught by only one teacher. The two teachers opted to share the responsibility of being coordinators in the ICAE project, involving both classes. They both frequently reassured me of their endorsement of the project, but both did not put any effort in supporting it by organising project lessons. During my visits they often left the classroom to carry out other duties or even to chat with colleagues on the school yard, knowing their pupils in good hands. We learned from pupils and from parents that the male teacher had the habit of beating children excessively.

Both coordinators praised the concept of ICAE. They tried to make me believe that they had put some effort in actively supporting the project which they actually had failed to do. They both demonstrated a very negative opinion of the pupils' and the parents' attitudes. The male teacher's view had changed towards the negative from term one to term three. Both mentioned lack of time for not having done more. The female coordinator described the villagers' contribution disparagingly as 'blah-blah', displaying her depreciation.

## **10 A Critical Reflection on the Research Process**

Before analyzing the data in Chapter Eleven, Chapter Ten presents some variables which affect the reliability and the validity of my findings, gives examples of means of providing information which might lead to culturally rooted misinterpretations, explains the rationale for opting for action research and finally elaborates on the ethical dilemma emanating from sensitive information obtained in the study.

### **10.1 Factors Affecting Reliability and Validity of Findings**

One of the questions arising from the analysis in chapter nine was ‘how will I know whether results are influenced by my intervention or by extra-intervention factors?’ (Question 12 arising from the analysis). I read the research evidence with caution, knowing that various factors might influence the reliability of my findings. I am especially aware of the following five:

#### **10.1.1 Dynamism of Events**

I view events as extremely dynamic. I experience them as time or occurrence dependent. This calls for caution when claiming to have captured events I could label as typical of the situation in the schools or communities included in my research. I believe the context is continuously developing; therefore, a report is bound to reflect matters that might already be overtaken by events by the time of its publication.

As if to illustrate the rapid and constant movement of events, particularly in my research area within my year of field work, accessibility and communication improved tremendously in five of the villages when a connecting tarred road was completed and electrical and telephone connections provided. Through this development, a village that would have been labelled as extremely remote and isolated just a month previously,

turned into an accessible village, with the teachers' families only a number-dial away to speak with. Having electricity made it possible for teachers to watch news on the national television station (which many did) and do computer word processing right at their school in Kweneng West.

The road construction does not only serve product-delivery, but changes the interpersonal dynamics and socio-economic dimensions of the villages in and between which it happens. It delivers opportunities and poses risks to the villagers. It opens chances of employment and business opportunities; it connects the villagers with people of other cultural backgrounds hereby providing chances of relationships on differing levels. To this effect, some villagers have told me of girls leaving school to live with road construction workers in their tents and boys leaving school to work as labourers for road construction companies. Villagers throughout the region have accused the construction workers of being responsible for spreading HIV infection. Though praising Botswana for good investment of national funds into public facilities including good roads, Challender (2004) laments one disadvantage that comes along with good infrastructure: 'Sadly, Botswana's excellent transport networks assist in the spread of [HIV] infection by making frequent trips back and forth possible' (p.4). Obviously with increased traffic passing the village material supply improves, but the risk of road accidents also increases. Once the event of road construction has passed through a village it will certainly have changed more than just the physical landscape: it will also have had great influence on the social and cultural landscape of the village.

The road construction is just one obvious example of the dynamics of events which change the context for analyzing interpersonal relationships. There are other events causing more subtle changes and events beyond my perception, making it impossible for me to consider all events' effects on the reliability of my findings. I believe at best my thesis could offer a 'frozen' snippet of the situation, thereby failing to portray, a 'moving picture', that I believe to be closer to reality. I have my doubts that, if I had moved the research schedule half a year later or earlier, I would have come to exactly the same

results. By comparing my results with results achieved by previous researchers I try to detect themes which are seemingly consistent rather than influenced by momentary events.

### **10.1.2 Researcher's Positionality**

I view peoples' interactions as dependent upon interpersonal relations. I consider the questions of 'who am I (the researcher) in the eyes of the respondents?' and 'how does the way the stakeholders perceive my identity, my personality, my personal and official mission affect the outcome of my research?' I give two examples to illustrate the questions above:

1. Children might have perceived me as just another teacher, with official authority who will mark their responses as right or wrong and who may punish them for the 'wrong' answers. They also may have seen in me a member of their ethnic group, a relative, who may represent and defend their interests against the school.

2. Teachers could have seen in me a colleague in the field, someone who shares their professional concerns and perhaps someone in a position to assist them in finding solutions to some of the problems they face. They may also have perceived me as an official from higher office, an 'inspector' who comes to assess their practice and who may make harmful judgements about them. They may have seen just another student on a research project, campaigning for their participation in order to fulfil the requirements for her degree. Teachers might also see me as a person with BaKgalagari ethnicity, functioning as an advocate for the village community.

I suppose the participants' responses are partly influenced by the view they had of me. What can I take as 'genuinely' the opinion of a respondent and not an answer given as 'self-defence' or an answer to please me, to give me a certain impression about the respondent and/or her environment? A researcher of another cultural (ethnic)

background, nationality, profession, age or gender might have received different responses. These inter-personal dependencies prevent me from making any claim that my research could be exactly replicated. I try to minimise this distorting effect through triangulation: involving stakeholders of different ages, ethnicities, gender and professions; using qualitative data in addition to quantitative data; having an assistant in collecting and analysing data who is of different gender and nationality than I am. Nevertheless, considering the limitations stated above, I still see my positionality, my position as both a member of the teaching profession and of the community, as the main factor for accessing the amount and depth of information as presented. In particular, interviews with community members, predominantly conducted in Shekgalagari, offered insight which I consider as relatively undistorted due to my ability to understand not only the spoken language, but to also 'read' and interpret 'side shows' that went on.

### **10.1.3 Self-Fulfilled Prophecy**

The research evidence seems to affirm my original suppositions. This causes me some discomfort regarding the question of integrity. Are there elements of 'self-fulfilled prophecy' or 'selective perception'? This project 'Intercultural Arts Education' is my 'brain child', I believe in its potential; hence I obviously wanted it to work successfully. I was actively involved in its implementation in the schools/villages. As a researcher I changed roles from being an investigator (asking questions, interviewing stakeholders and observing), to a teacher educator (introducing and modelling teaching methods), to a liaising agent (initiating links between teachers and community members), to a community member (having kinship relations to the local community, sharing their ethnicity, language, culture and schooling-experiences). To what degree is the research evidence a product of my own (conscious and unconscious) making depending on the role, hence the view I took? How biased was I in choosing what to record and what to leave out?

Based on the consideration that language functions as an agent for values and power I conclude this section by quoting Walker & Unterhalter (2004), who argue that

All “factual statements” are contextually evaluated by the human agent implicated in the events, or by researchers trying to read meaning into what people do and say. These readings are inflected by values and also by power. Different understandings of what it means to be a person will generate different constructions of the world, of valid knowledge, and the actions that flow from both (p.293).

My approach of ‘triangulation’ on differing levels might help to minimise potentially distorting effects of ‘selective perception’.

#### **10.1.4 Shifting between Languages**

I view shifting between various languages used by persons involved in the research as a hindrance to the maintenance of clarity and accuracy of information: Sesarwa and Shekgalagari were used by most local community members, Setswana and English by most teachers, English and German was used as medium of communication between me and my research assistant. As the official language in Botswana and the medium of communication in my UK based university, English is the language I used to record field notes and it is the language I use to process and report on the research findings. Any translation bears the consequence of loss of information and distortion of meaning. Comprehension- and translation mistakes are bound to happen, negatively affecting accuracy and validity of the findings.

#### **10.1.5 Cultural Misunderstanding**

On different occasions I was confronted by parents or other adult community members of BaSarwa ethnicity who expressed their interests and dissatisfaction with the education and socio-political situation in a manner which appeared quite bizarre. In an exaggerated state of drunkenness, individuals staged the following performance: They shouted and jumped about, then withdrew and spoke in whispers, thereafter screamed again. They



switched between Shekgalagari and Sesarwa languages, switched from laughing to crying, from mock-attacking me to hugging me. Watching these performances and paying more attention to the people's words, I decipher as a common refrain, covered by excessive clownery, the messages: 'How can we trust you? You want us to send our children to school to be ill-treated. You accuse our children of sexual excess, but by encouraging them to go to school you engulf them in a sexualised situation or encourage others to abuse them sexually, exposing them to HIV-infections. You want us to teach our skills for no payment, whereby you receive a high salary for teaching.'

The inability to present the message in a manner accepted by the dominant group leaves these villagers with no alternative but to wrap it in this 'clown performance'. This again leaves most members of the dominant group, the teachers, with no option but to disregard the voices of these community members as drunks' drivel, leaving them unheard despite their shouting.

Yet another means used by members of the community to express their thoughts, convey their emotions and describe their experiences was to present them packaged in fiction. Upon further questioning or by simply listening to storytellers a little longer and more carefully, a number of stories which were told as fiction turned out to have direct connection to the story-tellers lives. I draw an example from one of the research villages: By appointment we visited one of the cultural practitioners in her home to listen to and record her telling stories possibly to be utilised as contributions to ICAE lessons. A group of other village people gathered to listen to the story and to participate in dramatising scenes, a practice which is in accordance with the tradition of the community. One of the villagers entered the compound in the manner of the 'jesters' described above. The seemingly drunken lady directed her performance towards our host and storyteller and later she focussed her attention towards my director of studies, Professor Morwenna Griffiths (who happened to be with us in the field that week). The visiting lady persistently interrupted the host's narration with the aim to tell us her own story. Finally the guest managed to dominate the stage forcing everyone's attention

towards her performance. For some reason she chose Professor Griffiths as the main listener, moving very close to her and 'spitting' her story directly onto the listener's face. The story was told in Shekgalagari language, a language Professor Griffiths does not understand. I found it difficult to follow her story as the sequence did not seem logical, but with a loud and shrill voice the lady narrated a story in which a young lady married a handsome man and moved with him to his home unaware of the fact that her husband was actually a disguised leopard. In the first night of their marriage the man assumed his leopard being and devoured his bride. By the time the lady finished telling this story she was in tears. As I was trying to translate this story to my research assistant for recording and to Professor Griffiths, the lady continued to shout, but now telling the audience the true story about her beautiful daughter who married a man from another ethnic group, from another village. The woman lamented and physically acted out her sorrow (arms folded above her head, arms wrapped around her chest, shaking her head) as she told us how the man murdered her daughter and afterwards committed suicide.

It was rather coincidental that the lady managed to find a group of persons to listen to her as she poured out her heart about the loss of her daughter. In fact, some villagers had tried to persuade her to leave to allow us as 'the guests' to carry out our important work! I consider an interesting aspect the lady's choice of Professor Griffiths as a prime-listener, as Professor Griffiths obviously did not understand her language, indicating the lady's focus on her non-verbal performance, her articulation of emotions, which she considered as more expressive than her actual words. Interestingly, even before I translated the 'story' into English, Professor Griffiths obviously sensed the true message of the story, as her reaction was to sit on and listen with empathy. She found the performance extremely moving and did not feel threatened by the storyteller's seemingly aggressive behaviour.

I observed a similar pattern of expression in pupils: not only were they free to act out scenes of a story as part of performance in a lesson, during a school celebration a group of pupils also performed a drama acting out and hereby criticizing excessive beatings by

teachers, something they would never dare to do beyond the cover of clownery (the performance was prematurely interrupted by teachers).

The stories above taught me to dig deeper analytically into the narratives that people told me throughout the study. I discovered that the above stories were not the only stories so directly related to the performers' lives. The examples cited above indicated the power of narrative and prompted me to see the need to consider possibilities for narrative to be 'more firmly located within the field of education', (Walker & Unterhalter, 2004) and the field of data collection. Using these authors' thinking I argue that one area in which narrative is relevant is

...research practices in which subjectivity and experience are acknowledged, celebrated and recognised to be powerful and compelling. The narratives that we generate or analyse transform silence into dialogue, open out the ambiguities of the everyday, tease out the seamless labelling of the oppressed and capture the unruliness of human action (p.283).

I see parallels between the described means of criticizing 'authorities' and the function of court jesters in medieval times in Europe – with a difference: the cultural discourse of these mostly BaSarwa community members in Kweneng West in Botswana is not understood by members of the dominant group, the authorities, the teachers. Their voices are heard as pure clownery; the message is lost.

The 'language of story and performance' seems to be a common element of the repertoires contributing to the cultural capital of the communities in the research area, remaining unrecognized by representatives of the dominant culture. Teachers overhear, misunderstand and/or disregard this discourse of the minority culture. The situation challenges us as researchers and as practitioners in education to find ways of setting the formal protocol aside and adapting new ways of listening to the 'languages' relevant to the learners and to the general public we seek to engage in the formal education process. I agree with Walker & Unterhalter (2004) who argue:

Through listening to others we might produce more accountable and more responsible knowledge that enlarges our understanding of moral truths. The exchange of stories challenges our complacency as interpreters “outside” the story, and makes us aware that our peripheral vision obscures how dominant discourses fashion us. At issue, thus, is the need to interrogate and locate narrative text in and for educational research and pedagogy within frameworks that are critical, feminist and anti-racist [counter discrimination of any kind] (p.283).

## **10.2 Advancing Action Research as a Methodology**

At the beginning of my research-journey I was not fully aware of the limitations listed above. This awareness emerged when I was already on the move, it created insecurity regarding the research aims and the research questions I had my project based on, and it made me aware of the necessity to reframe this basis. The aims and questions had been developed mainly by me in consultation with a few academics of the professional area, most separated by a continent from the geographical area of my research. I feel addressed by Dahlstroem (2003), when he complains that

Practitioner perspectives have been marginalised and ignored due to a lost struggle through which academics and their interpretations of practitioners’ [I include community members’] knowledge, thinking and practice have gained hegemonic power (p.467).

I soon saw the need to also involve the stakeholders, as the individuals my aims were directed on, in defining these very aims. Hence, a change in attributing phrases emerged: I saw ‘feasibility’ less as an administrative quality but rather dependent upon the stakeholders’ abilities, needs and willingness. I saw academic performance less shown through the ability to count and spell correctly but the preparedness to actively participate, to enquire, to reflect. I saw the change in teachers’ attitudes less based on questions whether they saw their pupils as hard working and tidy but rather whether they showed appreciation of pupils’ strengths: Hence my request for coordinators to provide me with information on any extra-mural abilities of children in their classes. This change of focus demanded a move away from information collected through questionnaires and

structured observations and interviews. It demanded a broadening of my methodological approach through catering for the appreciation of narratives. I am aware that narratives do not offer absolute truth, rather multiple truths based on the person's desire for self-presentation and the interpreter's positionality which influences means of interpretation; still, I agree with Walker (2007), that 'through listening to others we might produce more accountable and more responsible knowledge'. In effect, even though my research questions remained much the same, the methodology I applied to answer the questions has shifted from the structured approach originally planned to the more open approach described, adding and giving weight to an element of non-structured data collection in form of narratives and chance-observations.

The limitations also call for a broadening of the research-team, for triangulation, through direct involvement of stakeholders not only in defining the research aims but also in the evaluation of the research results and decision making for further procedures. Such action demands a reflective stance based on critical realism. It demands collaborative work of community members, teachers and teacher trainers, including in-service training for all stakeholders, reflexion and decision making on contracts for further approaches to constantly open new cycles. It demands an active listening to the pupils' voices, consideration of their expressed needs and their direct involvement in the process of change. Most importantly, it demands dialogue: listening to the narratives, considering the dynamics of events, reflecting on everyone's positionality and actively targeting misunderstandings based on cultural and/or language differences. It demands action research being conducted under the auspices of creative partnerships (Walker, 2007).

The positivist approach which dominated the preliminary design of my research project was soon replaced by a twin-track approach putting emphasis on qualitative data, predominantly on narratives. My structured design of data collection and intervention was replaced by a more flexible approach, leaving room for alternations based on results obtained and requests made by stakeholders. Herewith I introduced some elements of action research, but realised that other elements were missing: I could not consider

myself being perceived as an insider by all stakeholders, and I actually did not consider myself an insider acting temporarily in some villages I had never visited before. In addition, I did not fully involve stakeholders in decision making, I even lacked administrative support to organise inter-village meetings with all stakeholders to initiate a dialogue.

I consider action research the ideal methodological approach for introducing ICAE as it involves active participation of all stakeholders. Robinson (2003), argues that

...contribution of research needs to go further than its contribution to programme design. Research, evaluation and quality assurance should be linked to action research, with the involvement of participants and the improvement of practice being the key tenets of the quality assurance process (p. 32).

Chapman (1997) offers two propositions as to why teachers appear to resist seemingly effective innovations: firstly, teachers might not see the problem and secondly, 'the proposed innovations may run counter to teachers' beliefs about what constitutes effective teaching.' Involvement in a dialogue under the auspices of action research may take into account both propositions by either contributing towards a change of views or by avoiding to take actions deemed fruitless due to lack of support.

Action research as envisaged here cannot be necessarily implemented exactly as it would be outside Botswana. Much of the theoretical elaboration of action research has originated in North America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand. Here I remark on how conditions of teaching in the Kweneng West Sub-District, and, I assume, in much of Botswana, will affect how such research might proceed. Generally the potential for the success of action research as a methodology in Botswana or the Southern African region may lie in the fact that conducive conditions already prevail in the traditional Bantu culture which forms part of the ethnic roots of many peoples across the Sub-Saharan region. For instance, one of the principles set by Botswana government is promoting the concept of '*Botho*'. Deriving from the noun '*motho*', which refers to 'person' or 'human



being', *botho*, as defined in the 'Framework for a Long Term Vision for Botswana' directly translates to humane behaviour,

.....but it refers to one of the tenets of Setswana culture – the concept of a well-rounded character, who is well-mannered, courteous and disciplined. *Botho* defines a process for earning respect by first giving it, and to gain empowerment by empowering others (p.8.).

Citing other writers, Bandawe (2005) further expands this principle as a common thread throughout cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa when he argues:

Despite the heterogeneity and dynamism of the African continent, there are commonalities that unite the African experience. Writers on Africa and Malawi highlight one main philosophical theme in the African experience of life that commonly defines the purpose of life and the nature of human conduct. This key theme, which is the summation of Malawian, and indeed African philosophy, is called uMunthu, or uBunthu as it is pronounced in South Africa (Lane, 2000; Letseka, 2000; Mbiti, 1989; Sindima, 1994). The very fabric of traditional African life centers on community and belonging to a network of people. The key phrase of uMunthu is captured in the saying: 'Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu' [Same saying in Tswana language - '*Motho ke motho ka batho*'] (A person is a person through persons). Human identity lies not in 'I think, therefore I am', but in 'I am because you are, and because you are, therefore, I am' (Mbiti, 1989; Sindima, 1994). The communal embeddedness and connectedness of a person to other persons is illuminated by this saying. Thus, the individual is affected by what happens to the whole group, as indeed the whole group is affected by what happens to an individual. In African philosophy, the view of man oscillates around this pivotal point (p. 290).

The concept of universal/mutual respect in Tswana society is also illustrated in its traditional leadership system. The traditional village court or communal meeting point, the '*kgotla*', is structured in such a way that all village elders, who are considered in a broad context family heads, have a place to represent their kin, their wards. In this Bantu-based administrative system, a village ward often bears the name of the residents' common forbearer. The *kgotla* is actually an open space; the meetings and court cases held here are open for all. Generally, the rule in the *kgotla* is to listen to voices of all. To express this democratic principle, there is a saying in Setswana language: '*Mafoko a kgotla a mantle otlhe.*' This literally means 'all words spoken at the *kgotla* are beautiful'.



This democratic principle offers fertile ground for implementing action research, but it has limitations: As I elaborated in chapter two, BaSarwa have a different settlement and leadership system, hence lacking true representation in the *kgotla*. Also remote settlement dwellers, irrespective of their ethnicity, tend to lack representation in the village *kgotla* due to their lower social and economic status, and their physical absence from administrative centres. In addition, due to lack of literacy skills, knowledge of the official languages and competency in both modern and Tswana traditional protocol, many members of the community in the research area tend to miss out on the benefits of the Tswana-based principles applied in various administrative and service providing institutions including school. Nevertheless, these limitations simultaneously highlight the difficulties but also the importance of involving all stakeholders in a dialogue, here in action research, in order for voices of all to be heard, especially those commonly denied a voice.

In view of these facts, I draw attention to the following areas of significance in addressing the unique circumstances prevailing in the Kweneng West sub-district.

Firstly, I have emphasised the importance of dialogue with and amongst stakeholders. These, as I have said, include various key figures in the wider community as well as within the school community. This community is a small one in terms of numbers, compared with schools in more populated areas of the world. The small size of the communities in this area is advantageous to the implementation of collaborative action research. However, the fact that the communities are dominated by traditional relationships overlaid with new additions such as the school staff, coming, as they usually do, from other ethnic groups with different cultures and languages, challenges effective collaboration. How dialogue is to proceed in such circumstances is a difficult matter for further research and development.

Secondly, most theory on action research assumes that teachers are in a position to carry out individual research fairly easily, although recognising that collaborative research

would be better. However, teachers in Kweneng West are in a very different position. They have little access to literature, internet sources, university or local authority support, etc. They are unlikely to find 'critical friends' outside the school. Without participation by a wider community they are unlikely to be able to ignite any research without sufficient support. Therefore, it seems that a powerful catalyst is needed to begin the research process, bringing together a community of stakeholders willing to cooperate.

In chapter five I explain that the research methodology called for in order to handle these circumstances was difficult to name; it was open and flexible, a hybrid between various methods, best described as a bricolage. Although the introduction of ICAE demanded the application of aspects of collaborative action research, the methodology I followed in this thesis defies classification as action research. Nevertheless, I advocate for the use of collaborative action research in the implementation of Intercultural Arts Education. In chapter twelve, I elaborate on my envisaged attempts to introduce ICAE in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana by initiating action research in the area involving community members (including pupils), teachers and teacher trainers. I discuss some of the tensions involved in an outsider being a catalyst, rather than seeking to be in control.

### **10.3 Ethical Dilemma**

The research evidence cited (see chapter nine) led me into a dilemma regarding ethics especially in regard to issues concerning the physical and emotional security of the pupils in the schools of my research:

a) Complaints about sexual harassment in the hostels have been reported by children, confirming previous reports by other researchers. I decided to encourage the girls to report cases to the hostel matron and the head teacher of the school. I also informed a matron and caretakers about the situation and learned that at one school the authorities were investigating incidents of abuse and that in the two other schools the hostel staff-

members in cooperation with the head teacher were in the process of finding solutions for improving children's security.

b) Another challenging issue, examples of which are also presented in chapter nine, were my observation of excessive corporal punishment of the pupils by teachers and their humiliation through prejudice and their resultant gross negligence by both teachers and hostel staff. My experience on the particularly disconcerting occasions is the case in which small children of an age between seven and ten were thoroughly thrashed by their teacher for the banal mistake of using fingers instead of erasers in their exercise books left me emotionally injured and placed me in ethical conflict.

c) I would like to quote another example of ethnic prejudice and stereotyping from my field notes:

‘The Standard four BaSarwa girl, S., who was a boarder showed obvious symptoms of illness: She had dry lips, was lethargic, shaky and showed a dull face. ....as the girl became weaker and started to rest her head on the table. Her teacher, Ms. G., did not seem to notice the girl's ill-health. I decided to take the girl to the nearby hostels. .... On the way to the hostels I met the teacher Mr. H. chatting with the hostel matron (during teaching hours). The first thing Mr. H. thought to ask was: “Has she been fighting again?” After I explained that S. was not feeling well the matron commented laughing, “She is surely suffering of snuff-withdrawal symptoms.”..... After the lesson I went back to the hostels. When I asked the matron about S's well being, she did not know. She did not even know in which room the girl was.... S. is a girl I learned to know a bit better... S. is neither a girl who fights nor does she take snuff.’

d) The condition of some classrooms, school toilets and hostels were so poor that it posed risk to health and safety of the children and in some cases also compromised their dignity. I have made photographs of some of these poor conditions in classrooms, (see

appendix G) but avoided taking photographs of undignified conditions in pupils' living areas, dining areas, sleeping areas and pupils' bathrooms and toilets as this might have further humiliated the children.

I informed local authorities (head teacher and matron) about the appalling conditions mentioned in order to achieve security and dignity for the pupils. Taking further steps at this point might have compromised my access to the research area, by so doing jeopardising my ultimate aim to contribute towards the achievement of social justice. The fact that the children might still be exposed to these humiliating conditions frustrates and shames me and makes me feel helpless. Even though on one hand I have to face the reality that at the time of my fieldwork I was (and I still am) on sponsored scholarship, obliged to spend time, energy and financial resources on carrying out activities with focus on completing a project towards the fulfilment of a PhD, on the other hand I follow an aim with personal interest and with intrinsic motivation. This motivation is based not only on the benefit of my professional development, but especially in the work for social justice through exploration of ideas, in this case the concept of ICAE, under the auspices of a research project, which I see as having potential to ultimately contribute towards positive change. I take some comfort in this thought that through following the academic and professional path I cultivate the possibility of maintaining links for collaboration with other parties (both nationally and globally) with whom I share interests in general issues of social justice, particularly the improvement of the quality of education and conditions conducive to the general well-being of all learners in the school environment. I believe that, as a member of the teaching staff at the University of Botswana, I remain strategically placed to possibly contribute to reformulation of policy and hence to a change in the educational praxis in my country. I maintain hope for positive response from the rural community members concerned, for my attempts to actively engage them in research activities for educational reform, a hope partially based on mutual trust between them and me, as I am a member of one of the ethnic minority groups in the research area. From the position of a teacher educator I hope to win the collaboration of teachers in the pre-service stage as well as

the practitioners in the field when I present myself as a colleague in their professional area, offering general support in effecting improvement of their educational situation and particularly offering to assist in igniting cultural links between the school and communities.

## **11 Discussion of Results**

This chapter recalls my premise that prompted me to carry out this research and it recalls the research questions. After answering the first research question, that stakeholders welcomed the introduction of ICAE, albeit for different reasons, and finding my first research premise supported, it provides a reflection on the introduction of ICAE in schools. The reflection summarises, analyses and interprets the results which are presented in chapters eight and nine. Aided by concepts drawn from literature I elaborate on a strategy to alleviate the existing discrepancy in power between schools and communities. This strategy, I hope, creates grounds for mutual benefit whereby all participants experience an increase in power and recognition initially through the implementation of collaborative intercultural education. Elaborating on the function of cultural capital on socio-cultural reproduction I use critical realism (Corson 1998), a concept of discovery, which determines group interests of the stakeholders to identify common interests in improving the situation at schools as a framework for analysis of the results. Finally, research questions two, three and four are answered, supporting my second research premise and leading to conclusions which form the base for the research recommendations presented in chapter twelve. After briefly elaborating on my own professional development in the course of this research project, I present evidence that introducing ICAE had a positive short term effect on all stakeholders' attitudes towards school/community relations, but I suggest expanding it towards more extensive community involvement to include a political element for the sake of sustainability.

### **11.1 Research Questions and Questions Arising from the Analysis**

I recall: The research is based on the two premise that firstly, the prevailing inefficiencies in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and

cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum and that

secondly, Intercultural Arts Education bears the potential to contribute towards bridging the existing cultural gap between school and community, thereby alleviating problems associated with cultural alienation, which contributes to low school attendance and high dropout rates of ethnic minority pupils as well as their low academic performance.

The research questions read:

1. Are the above mentioned premise shared by the stakeholders? (An affirmative answer is precondition for the introduction of ICAE as the following project procedure)
2. Is ICAE feasible in the Kweneng West district?
3. Does ICAE change the stakeholders' attitude towards persons with a different ethnicity and towards school?
4. Does ICAE have a positive impact on the self-assessment and the academic performance of ethnic minority learners?

## **11.2 Answering Research Question One:**

Pre-intervention data (chapter seven) suggested that both my premise listed above were shared by the community members interviewed and also by many teachers. This prompted me to carry on with the project procedure, which was an intervention introducing ICAE in six standard four primary school classes in the Kweneng West Sub-District Botswana's.

Observations during ICAE-lessons (chapter eight) showed that pupils' participation increased, they were more actively involved in activities and communicated more freely with teachers, cultural practitioners and with each other.



Post-intervention data (chapter nine) led to the following sixteen questions arising from the analysis:

- Question 1: Does ICAE raise pupils' awareness and pride of their own cultural capital but also their awareness of deficits in acquiring the school culture?
- Question 2: Does ICAE especially benefit BaSarwa pupils by raising awareness and pride of their cultural capital?
- Question 3: Question three repeats question one: Might ICAE improve pupils' positive self assessment as indicated by comparisons between results for intervention schools and comparator schools? Does ICAE raise pupils' awareness and pride of their own cultural capital but also their awareness of deficits in acquiring the school culture?
- Question 4: Might the response of coordinators regarding the implementation of ICAE have a major effect on pupils' self assessment and how they view their homes?
- Question 5: Might the involvement of cultural practitioners, independent of the teachers' attitudes shown towards pupils, increase some pupils' self-esteem regarding attitudes beyond teachers' judgment and their positive view of their homes (see fig. 9-16)? Might teachers' child-centred approaches independent of villagers' involvement in teaching increase pupils' self-esteem regarding attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment (see fig. 9-15)?
- Question 6: When recording pupils' attitudes, am I actually recording traits or states? Have pupils changed their attitudes or have they temporarily adapted to the respective context?
- Question 7: Does a relatively small but powerful intervention in terms of in service education have potential beneficial effects on teachers' attitudes towards pupils?
- Question 8: Have some teachers developed defence mechanisms for explaining poor results by putting the blame on pupils and parents and stressing their own efforts?

- Question 9: Is the effect of ICAE only restricted to the one actively involved class and its class teacher with no major influence on other teachers?
- Question 10: Does the teachers' view of their own input and their view of pupils' attitudes depend partly on the general working atmosphere at school? Does ICAE have the potential to improve teachers' view of their own input and the pupils' attitudes by improving the general working atmosphere at school?
- Question 11: Does ICAE have the potential to improve the situation at the hostels and in the classroom by involving parents in order to facilitate a safer living environment which is conducive to learning, free of embarrassment, excessive beating and sexual harassment, thereby promoting cultural recognition of the learners with the effect of improvement of attendance?
- Question 12: How will I know whether results are influenced by my intervention or by extra-intervention factors?
- Question 13: Is the potential of ICAE to change teachers' attitudes towards pupils dependent on the teachers becoming actively involved in its implementation?
- Question 14: Does ICAE improve the teachers' understanding that cooperation with parents demands, as a precondition, the teachers' preparedness and initiation for cooperation?
- Question 15: Does ICAE improve the teachers' view on pupils' motivation to participate actively in lessons?
- Question 16: Does teachers' preparedness to apply child centred methods and to cooperate with community members depend on their view of pupils' attitudes? Might ICAE change teachers' view of pupils' attitudes, consequently improving their teaching methods as evidenced by more child centeredness and openness?

In the discussion that follows I will provide analytic responses to these questions. The responses are consolidated to conclusive remarks rather than answers to each single question.

### **11.3 Results Support Initial Premise: The Effect of Differences in Cultural Capital on Socio-Cultural Reproduction**

The first premise which provides the rational for the research reads:

‘The prevailing inefficiencies in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum.’

I proceed on the assumption that schools in the Kweneng West Sub-District play a role in socio-cultural reproduction by placing value on different ‘cultural capital’ to that which the community they serve does; and that the cultural capital valued by schools is not equally available to children from different backgrounds. Education gives power to its own norms of discourse; it discriminates against those with other norms of discourse. Non-coercive power penetrates consciousness, the dominated become accomplices in their own domination: hegemony at work. Both, the coerced and the coercer, help the powerful to convert coercive forms of power into legitimate authority (Wrong, 1979).

My data support the following statements: The academic performance and school attendance of pupils in the district is the lowest in the country; many teachers discriminate against members of the community they serve; most teachers are members of a dominant ethnic group with other norms of discourse than the villagers hold. Even teachers who originate from Kweneng West villages, whose families have a BaKgalagari background, do not represent their original norms of discourse anymore but have been ‘promoted’ into the mainstream, dominant culture due to their academic success.

In the questionnaires most teachers label their pupils as 'not hard working, not solving conflicts peacefully and ill-mannered, the latter shown mainly through lack of respect towards teaching staff. They perceive the parents as hostile towards teachers, irresponsible in educating their children and un-cooperative in supporting the school. These negative attributions go hand in hand with stereotyping these negative attitudes as 'their culture'. According to Thompson (2003),

Discrimination at the personal level frequently manifests itself as prejudice. This involves forming a judgement and refusing to alter or abandon it, even in the face of considerable evidence that contradicts and undermines it. Often, such prejudicial judgements are based on stereotype (p35).

Consequently, in my interpretation, many teachers perceive the community as not worth the effort of providing quality education for. Many do not prepare lessons or even do not attend lessons; many deny pupils basic care and turn to ill-treating pupils through verbal assault (insults) and physical assault (excessive caning).

In a school where the dominant culture permeates all practice, Corson (1998) argues, culturally different children feel lost - and teachers feel out of place in the community. This thought was confirmed through my findings: as much as pupils and parents felt alienated in the school, the teachers felt alienated in the village; some coordinators to the extent that they refused to accompany me to pupils' homes. They even avoided carrying out basic chores like shopping in the village, restricting their movement to the school premises, partly out of fear of losing authority, partly for security reasons. In the questionnaires teachers mentioned lack of infrastructure and comfort as a reason for disliking living in the village – but more often they stated lack of social contact and the villagers' hostility. The implicit struggle of villagers and teaching staff about where to hold PTA meetings, in the school or in the village *kgotla*, illustrated exactly this phenomenon.

Most villagers perceived the teachers' and the caretakers' attitudes as hostile and attributed this hostility to ethnic discrimination. Some community members complained bitterly and openly about their catch-twenty-two situation: they urgently wanted their children to succeed in school in order to get a chance of future employment, which would allow them to support their families in the village; however, they did not want to force their children to go to school and suffer ill-treatment. They feared bodily and psychological harm for children who suffer various forms of abuse. They wanted to protect the girls in particular from sexual harassment, including rape, bad enough in any situation, but disastrous in view of the devastating HIV pandemic and risks of teenage pregnancies. Some parents decided to leave their children at home, others to encourage their children to attend school, hoping they survived the ill-treatment with not too much harm. Supported by some chiefs, parents called for changes: some asked for supervision of teachers and caretakers, others for involvement of tribal authorities and parents in the policy making of the school. At one school parents asked for the entire teaching staff to be transferred and replaced by teachers of their own ethnic group.

Another group of community members had internalized the marginalization and accepted the teachers' actions as based on legitimate authority. In interviews pupils justified poor academic results and harsh punishment received, like being caned, as a result of 'giving wrong or no answers' or for 'arguing in class'. In questionnaires only half of the pupils self-attributed positive attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment, against three quarters of the pupils regarding positive attitudes beyond the teachers' judgment; and three quarters of the BaSarwa children, as the most severely marginalized group, rejected their own language, against an average of one third of all pupils. Outside school this group of pupils and parents also complained about ill-treatment of children by teachers and caretakers in interviews, but rather secretly, asking for anonymity. They mentioned insults, corporal punishment, failure to protect girls from sexual harassment in hostels and unreliable supply of school uniforms and food. These complaints, however, did not result in this group of community members questioning the legitimacy of such treatment. Rather they deemed themselves as unsuitable for schooling; the

children had adjusted their expectations downwards (Corson 1998). The schools had recognized those who acknowledged the legitimacy of schooling in offering recognition, hence the slanted criteria schools use to judge success were supported as pupils and parents submitted to those criteria, thereby internalizing the marginalization (Corson 1998).

Teachers often bemoaned parents' lack of support, complaining that the community members did not value education. However, in interviews many villagers showed eagerness to participate in ICAE lessons and, in accordance with the interest of most chiefs, to be seriously involved in school related decision-making. But, as Corson (1998) argues, community involvement is frustrated when people from diverse backgrounds find that all the major decisions are made by remote officials who do not share the culture of the place, and might not care very much about it. This frustration was expressed by several parents who explained to me that they did not want to be called to school only to be told how lazy, ill-mannered and irresponsible their children were, but to be involved in conducting lessons and decision making. Corson (1998) formulates this demand as

...policies of real reform in educating for diversity involve the school's community in its work, not only to communicate the work of the school to parents, but also to draw on the community's knowledge, expertise, and cultural practices to shape the work that schools do and make it relevant to the lived experience of children from diverse backgrounds (p.25).

Abella (1991) argues:

An integrated community is one whose members feel that their unique participation is both desired and desirable; an assimilated one denies participation to those who seek to assert the relevance of their differences (pp.358-9).

This argument contributed to my design of ICAE, to reject the predominant assimilation of ethnic minorities in favour of interculturalism. Corson (1998) defines education for diversity, an element of interculturalism, as

...referring to any formal teaching and learning opportunities provided for groups of students who differ in some one or more dimensions of ethnicity, class, race, gender or language...if differences are educationally relevant, some different kind of educational provision is warranted. A conception of social justice suggests that the 'group interests' of students who come from non-dominant backgrounds deserve different treatment in educational policies and practices (p. 1).

The findings strengthen my first premise that the prevailing inefficiencies in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum.

## **11.4 Group Interests of Stakeholders**

The aim of the pre-intervention phase of my research was to find out 'group interests' of pupils, but also adult community members, teachers and chiefs. Following the idea of critical realism, I tried to identify structures that restrict the stakeholders' actions. From the data provided I conclude:

### **1. Teachers' group interests:**

- a) We want to be provided with reliable infrastructure like water, electricity, telephone and frequent transport to urban centres to ease the burdens of being posted in a remote area far from friends and family.
- b) We want to be provided with efficient teaching material, workshops and in-service training that allow us to increase the quality of teaching and the chances of promotion.
- c) We want the fact to be acknowledged that teaching children of a different ethnicity in remote areas is an extraordinary burden which should be considered when comparing academic results of pupils with results achieved in other areas.
- d) We want the community to appreciate and support our efforts in educating their children.

### **2. Pupils' group interests:**



- a) We want the teachers to explain to us the learning matter in a way that allows us to understand and perform better at school.
- b) We want to be taught without being insulted, beaten, and sexually harassed.
- c) We want to be allowed to express ourselves in our mother tongue at school.
- d) We want to be supplied with appropriate school clothing and school food in a timely manner.

### 3. Parents' group interests:

- a) We want to be treated with respect by teachers.
- b) We want to be involved in decision making in the schools and to contribute with our skills and knowledge to classroom teaching.
- c) We want the teachers to improve their quality of teaching in order to allow our children to perform better academically.
- d) We want our children at school to be protected from insults, excessive beating and sexual harassment.

### 4. Chiefs' interests:

- a) We want our children to perform as well as any other children in the country.
- b) We want teachers in our village who are dedicated to their work, respectful towards the village community and empathetic towards our children.
- c) We want parents to practice more responsibility in educating their children and in supporting the school.
- d) We want the teachers to be introduced to the tribal authorities and to maintain consultation with the tribal administration.
- e) We want villagers to be informed about the purpose and the accessibility of social services, including education.

I realise that my approach includes elements of critical policy making. It provides schools with opportunities to begin the process of reforming education for diversity based on Bhaskar's (1986) five assumptions (as cited by Corson, 1998):

1. Human reasons and accounts are basic social scientific evidence.
2. By consulting reasons and accounts of people, decision makers (in this context of research, the researcher) learn about the values, beliefs, interests, ideologies, and material entities that are important structures in the lives of those people.
3. People's reasons and accounts offer evidence about what their beliefs, etc. are, and also about what they believe about those beliefs, etc.
4. By using people's reasons and accounts as the starting point, we can begin to work out the reality of influential structures in people's lives: the things that they value, and the things that oppress them.
5. Action to keep wanted structures or to replace unwanted with wanted structures (emancipation), can be taken (pp.17-18).

Especially in a research locality where teachers are members of the dominant ethnic group with their norms of discourse, serving a community with members of a dominated ethnic group with differing norms of discourse, human reasons and accounts do not necessarily represent identical human interests. In my research two distinctive basic sets of interests divided on ethnic and social lines exist. I draw from the collectivist approach to social justice (Habermas, 1979), cited by Corson (1998), which looks after

... needs that are not biologically given but acquired human interests. Potential for compatibility of [the two sets of] interests can be identified; a negotiated compromise can be reached for dealing with incompatibilities (p.13).

My design of ICAE is an attempt to identify compatible interests of culturally different groups and to develop strategies of cooperation:

1. Admittedly for different reasons, all stakeholders want pupils in the area to perform better at school.
2. Admittedly on different levels, teachers as well as parents show eagerness to cooperate.
3. And both, villagers and teachers, demand respectful recognition from each other.

I leave aside dealing with incompatibilities which demand negotiations between both sides, as a precondition for this step will be time consuming confidence-building measures. Nevertheless, to give the project a chance of sustainability this step needs to follow. One eye-striking incompatibility, namely the teachers' belief that only through corporal punishment pupils can be made to perform, versus the parents' belief that it is exactly this corporal punishment that causes their children to under-achieve, might hopefully even ease in the course of ICAE, purely due to the temporary presence of villagers in the classroom.

## **11.5 Responses to the Introduction of ICAE: Teachers and Cultural Practitioners**

I introduced the concept of ICAE to teachers as well as to cultural practitioners.

1. Both parties appreciated the idea of interdisciplinary project teaching including elements of the community culture to be utilized for further elaboration in different subjects. Community members accepted this method as a 'natural', apprenticeship-style teaching method; teachers recognized that pupils would benefit by being enabled to grasp a topic; through their training they knew that 'project teaching' was a recognized, favoured method (without necessarily knowing exactly what it meant), but they still needed reassurance that the method was legitimate and could adequately be used to cover syllabus material.
2. Both community members and teachers, hoped to observe an improvement in pupils' performance due to ICAE: community members mainly for the sake of an increase in pupils' chances to find future employment, teachers mainly for the sake of improving their reputation as successful educators.
3. Both parties appreciated the idea of cooperation in classroom teaching: Community members for the sake of cultural recognition and representation, teachers for the sake of being provided with useful skills.

4. Both parties appreciated the idea of cooperation as it gave them a chance to win personal recognition from the respective other party: community members as persons who can offer something valued and included in teaching; teachers as professionals, confidently familiar with the norms of discourse determining the course of a school day.

## **11.6 The Effect of ICAE on Pupils' Performance during Project Lessons**

Envisaging common goals of teachers and community members (see 11.5) predominantly benefited the pupils. Their participation in ICAE lessons taught by their teacher in cooperation with villagers (or later me) was remarkably higher than in lessons solely taught by their teachers. Many pupils soon realized the pedagogical room for active involvement in the context of ICAE lessons:

1. Realizing that in my and in community members' presence the teachers refrained from punishing pupils, the children obviously enjoyed being freed from this oppression and happily performed, not mainly for the sake of presenting results, rather for the sake of performance per se. Remarkably many pupils who had been labelled as 'slow learners' took responsibility for the lesson procedure by voluntarily offering contributions.
2. Pupils managed to express themselves on a higher level in Setswana and in English as the content was understood, either due to the presentation of the content in Shekgalagari and/or due to their introduction through practical work. As they were free to use Shekgalagari expressions in their presentations to be translated with my or the teachers' support, even children who had hardly ever contributed to lessons previously participated actively and showed presentable results.

3. Two other factors contributing to pupils' preparedness to actively perform were the use of group work and miming: group work obviously reduced the pressure of being individually responsible for contributions, miming allowed performance independent from the ability of verbal expression.
4. All the factors mentioned above could be labelled as common elements of a child centred method of teaching, which I consider one characteristic of ICAE. The positive effect of these factors on pupils' performance is widely acknowledged. But there is another factor, not easily recognized, not to be named straightforwardly as a method, with a more subtle effect on the entire atmosphere in class: there was a slight shift in the 'culture of dealing' (Holliday et al., 2004). This shift was away from the dominant BaTswana-influenced rather autocratic school culture, towards a more relaxed, homely, apprenticeship-like community culture. The shift was recognized by the children and appreciated with a metaphorical though almost audible sigh of relief, once a cultural practitioner or I entered the classroom. This is in line with Foucault's thought, that a shift away from an oppressive discourse, which is alien to the pupils, towards a homely discourse, which is familiar to the pupils, has a liberating effect for the learners. This situation was marked by a change in patterns of communication in my research classes: The pupils addressed the adults present more openly, asking questions, asking for clarifications, making suggestions, something they quite strictly avoided in lessons solely taught by their teacher. Pupils started to inter-communicate directly and actively, an attitude I had hardly ever observed in their classes before. Liberated from pressure of punishment the children also reduced their attitude of comparing and competing in favour of learning from and showing each other. These effects were not observed in all pupils and not in all classes to the same extent, nevertheless it showed that ICAE does have the potential to introduce, partly due to an apprenticeship-like style, elements of the

community culture into school not only elements concerning knowledge and skills but, more importantly, elements concerning attitudes.

Referring to question six arisen from the analysis in chapter nine I suppose: When recording observed pupils' reactions, I can only claim to have recorded state rather than trait. Pupils might have adapted to the prevailing context rather than changed their attitudes. Pupils' responses in questionnaires at the end of the research period offer more information about changes of attitudes. Nevertheless, a change in behaviour due to change of treatment for a longer period will, I suppose, inevitably lead to attitudinal change.

## **11.7 Responses to the Implementation of ICAE**

Considering the teachers' group interests listed above, I held a workshop for the entire teaching staff at the beginning of my field work at all six intervention schools to introduce the idea of ICAE. I signalled my acknowledgement of the extraordinary strain on teachers through being posted in a remote area inhabited by a community of a different ethnicity, teaching children whose home culture differs significantly from the schools' culture of dealing, and whose cultural capital is of only little benefit for their performance in lessons based on the dominant (BaTswana) culture. Most teachers appreciated my empathetic response to their situation and they willingly accepted 'cultural clashes' as one explanation for problems they were facing in cooperating with the village community including the pupils. Most teachers (except teachers from one school mentioned in chapter nine above) welcomed the introduction of ICAE and assured me of their support for its implementation, hoping this might help to improve the pupils' results in national examinations, thus improving the school's reputation.

In the one year course of my field work I worked closely with the seven coordinators. Before my intervention all coordinators used 'chalk and talk teaching' exclusively as their teaching method and put pressure on the pupils by demanding correct answers to

questions from the cognitive domain and threatening with punishment for failure to answer. Consequently, the majority of the pupils, all of BaSarwa or BaKgalagari ethnicity, withdrew into non-response; in some classes a small minority of mostly BaTswana, in one case BaKgalagari of a higher social status, shone through active communication with the teachers and through relatively high performance, which was praised by the coordinators. Corson (1998) observed this phenomenon and argues that schools place value on cultural capital prized and possessed by dominant groups to maintain the value of qualifications by limiting numbers, effectively excluding marginalized groups. I agree with Corson, even though in this research context I consider the effect of 'exclusion' rather as functional than as intentional.

Rogers (1983) cited in Paechter (2001) stresses that it is important for learners to have control over the learning process. He suggests that teachers should become facilitators of learning, but allowing students to direct and evaluate their own learning. But he recognizes the difficulties in putting this into practice, particularly due to teachers' reluctance to relinquish power in the classroom. He suggests that by changing the structure of the teacher-student relationship in this way students [and teachers] may be enabled to become 'fully functioning persons', open to experience and continually learning how to learn. Rogers' reservations about the possibilities for changes in practice, in this case concerning the involvement of adult community members, is the key issue here: Most coordinators had accepted the idea of inviting cultural practitioners to conduct ICAE lessons, but predominantly for the purpose of merely learning new skills. Consequently, they slipped into the role of learners, admired the cultural practitioners' skills, participated actively in the exercises and competed with their 'fellow-pupils' for 'best results'. One coordinator expressed it by stating: 'Once I have learned how to do it [weaving] I do not need to call him [cultural practitioner] anymore'. The coordinators failed mostly to utilize the lessons as an introduction for following project-lessons and as a chance to introduce an element of the pupils' home culture to the class. According to Paechter (2001), central to ownership of knowledge is having the power contained within that which one knows. Hence, inviting resource persons ignites



in teachers the process of regaining power by taking over ownership of knowledge, thus rendering it powerless and no longer owned by others, stripping it of its connections with its original context, so that in class nothing is for real.

When I taught the model lesson with the aim of demonstrating to the coordinators how to weave the community's contributions into the project and how to cooperate with the cultural practitioners in conducting the lesson, they showed the same pattern of either rejecting or taking over ownership of non-school knowledge. Before and during my model project presentation, my research assistant and I constantly encouraged the coordinators to offer support and encouragement rather than reprimand the pupils and to appreciate efforts rather than to evaluate results. But this proved to be difficult. Most coordinators did not find it easy to appreciate pupils' contributions based on skills from a non-school context acquired outside school. They first failed to appreciate pupils' attempts to contribute but rather reprimanded pupils for 'being careless or playful'. They shifted the discourse towards their habitual practice/role of being the judges as to which knowledge is valuable and which is not: they started to assess and correct results, hereby regaining power by taking over ownership of knowledge. Nevertheless, through constant modelling, encouragement and support, and the reassurance that project teaching and child-centeredness were acknowledged methods in classroom teaching, in four schools the coordinators changed their behaviour and adopted a more child friendly attitude in those particular sessions.

I interpret this change as a regaining of power by the teachers through a shift of discourse towards professionalism. By adopting and engaging these concepts, I suppose, the teachers feel elevated to a higher status in their role as education professionals from which they benefit, without having to engage in a power struggle with their learners or the cultural practitioners. Admittedly, these concepts do not necessarily cover all aspects of interculturalism, but I assume that child-centeredness, as one element of ICAE, taken seriously, will inevitably lead to teachers appreciating and acknowledging learners'

cultural capital. At least in my presence the four coordinators maintained this attitude towards the pupils and the villagers, and not only during project activities.

In two schools the coordinators took a position as observers of a rather exotic teaching style, they hardly got involved in project lessons and waited for their turn to continue with 'normal' lessons.

## **11.8 Post-Intervention Findings**

Towards the end of my fieldwork, in term three 2005, pupils filled in the same questionnaires as in term one. Results show that all, but especially the most marginalized group of pupils, the BaSarwa, profited from ICAE lessons: Self attributed positive attitudes amongst this group rose by the highest margin of all groups between terms one and three. My observations correspond with these results: Pupils responded positively to ICAE lessons, especially BaSarwa children. I observed whole-class participation in all the schools in at least one ICAE activity. The class teachers expressed their surprise at the participation of pupils they regarded as slow-learners, predominantly of BaSarwa ethnicity. All pupils participated much more confidently in activities and showed a significantly higher level of communication with the teacher and amongst each other. Nevertheless, once teachers lapsed back into traditional autocratic teaching style, pupils immediately reverted to the habit of non-participating in lessons and failing to contribute in any way. In my view, this shift in learner behaviour illustrates that the learners' active participation, which leads to academic success, is dependant on their freedom to use their own-cultural capital in the learning process. This situation shows the necessity for collaboration between the teachers as professionals and the community members, who are 'experts' in regard to local culture, communication skills and 'learner owned knowledge'.

In term three the teachers also filled in the same questionnaires as they had done in term one and added unguided remarks. Interestingly, results show that in intervention schools the teachers' confidence in managing to improve the situation at their school rose against a drop in comparator schools. I give credit to the introduction of ICAE that some teachers managed to see a perspective in their professional progression.

Results also show that the teachers' contentment with being posted in the village depended on the relationship they managed to build with the village community, including the tribal administration. Considering this dependency, I recommend the ICAE-approach to engage teachers and villagers in collaborative classroom work also with the aim to improve the relationship between school and the community.

At schools where tensions amongst teaching staff were noticeable the teachers expressed more often negative views on pupils' attitudes. I cannot decide on cause and effect, but I worked on the assumption that ICAE has the potential to improve both the teachers' view of pupils' attitudes and the working atmosphere amongst teaching staff due to in-service training based on the ICAE concept, which incorporates aspects of collaborative community based education.

Many teachers attribute the pupils' tendency to abscond from school to the pupils' laziness, lack of motivation or just the fact that pupils dislike school, combined with parents' uncooperativeness. However, in project schools far less teachers complained about parents' lack of cooperation and pupils' lack of motivation than in comparator schools. And in project schools teachers more often saw the need to improve cooperation with parents than in comparator schools. I assume that my modest attempts to introduce ICAE in schools already had the effect that some teachers changed their attitude towards an increased cultural understanding.

In the final interviews all coordinators acknowledged that academically poor pupils in particular benefited from the project lessons. They had adopted, at least temporarily, a

more positive attitude towards pupils, reduced reprimanding and rather praised pupils' efforts. Coordinators acknowledged, or even appreciated, having learned new crafts skills from villagers. Four coordinators expressed their impression that their relationship with community members had improved. The coordinators realized that villagers lacked teaching skills, but four coordinators felt sure that they were able to compensate this weakness through their own input and cooperation.

## **11.9 Summary: Considering Research Premise and Research Questions**

The first premise on which this research was based reads: the prevailing inefficiencies in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum. Preliminary research findings strengthened this assumption as reflected in chapter eight and paved the way for the introduction of ICAE.

The second assumption on which this research was based reads: Intercultural Arts Education bears the potential to bridge the existing cultural gap between school and community, thereby alleviating problems associated with cultural alienation, which contributes to low school attendance and high dropout rates of ethnic minority pupils as well as their low academic performance. The assumption leads to the research questions b, c and d:

- b) Is ICAE feasible in the Kweneng West district?
- c) Does ICAE change the stakeholders' attitude towards persons with a different ethnicity and towards school?
- d) Does ICAE have a positive impact on the self-assessment and the academic performance of ethnic minority learners?

As discussed in Chapter 10.2, the research premise and research questions remained basically unchanged throughout the research journey. However, as I previously explained, the structured methodology originally planned was not replaced but rather supplemented by including more open and unstructured means: The kind of data collected widened to include the narrative and to capture chance observations. Examples of additional qualitative data collected and analysed include paying attention to the coordinators' choice of classroom activities worth photographing and their observation of pupils' knowledge and skills outside the classroom; it included analysing the choice of stories told by villagers and possible messages relating to their private life, the school or other social services affecting them. This development called for qualitative methods of data analysis to adequately process this more open and flexible data. The NVIVO 2 qualitative data analysis tool was instrumental for this purpose. The triangulation of data collection means and methods of analysis, I believe, added value to the study and provided chances to cross-check possible meanings and implications of different kinds of results obtained through different means. Using this flexible, combined research methodology, I arrived at the suppositions and summary of findings which I present below. In the section that follows I develop a synthesis in which I anchor the findings of the study within a supportive theoretical framework in an effort to highlight the benefits of Intercultural Arts Education in alleviating inequalities and contributing towards the achievement of social justice in the provision of education for children of ethnic minority background.

## **11.10 From Questions Arising to Suppositions**

Post-intervention data (chapter nine) led to the following suppositions which were preliminarily formulated as questions:

Provided that the teachers get actively involved in its implementation, including the active involvement of community members in teaching, ICAE has the potential to

improve teachers' attitudes towards the village community, including the pupils, and consequently raise the teachers' preparedness to apply child centred methods. This has the effect of an increase in pupils' positive self assessment, awareness and pride of their own cultural capital and the community members' preparedness to cooperate with teachers in conducting lessons. ICAE benefits especially pupils of BaSarwa ethnicity, the most marginalised group.

Results indicate that ICAE raises some pupils' awareness of their own perceived deficits in acquiring the school culture and that an increase in pupils' self-esteem regarding attitudes beyond teachers' judgment is rather due to the involvement of cultural practitioners while an increase in pupils' self-esteem regarding attitudes succumbed to teachers' judgment is rather due to teachers' child-centred approaches.

Some teachers developed defence mechanisms for explaining poor results by placing the blame on pupils and parents and stressing own efforts. But a relatively small but powerful intervention in terms of in-service education as part of the ICAE project had beneficial effects on teachers' attitudes. It improved some teachers' view of their own input, and the pupils' attitudes. It improved some teachers' understanding that cooperation with parents demands, as a precondition, the teachers' preparedness and initiation for cooperation.

I assume that ICAE has the potential to improve the situation at the hostels and in the classroom by involving parents, as merely through their presence in the school they help to facilitate a safer living environment which is conducive to learning, free of embarrassment, excessive beating and sexual harassment, promoting cultural recognition of the learners with the effect of improvement of attendance.

## **11.11 Embedding Findings into Theoretical Concepts**

I conclude: ICAE, where sincerely put into practice, had a positive effect on all stakeholders in the intervention schools and their communities. Pupils were the main beneficiaries through being encouraged and enabled to participate and to offer contributions in lessons. During ICAE lessons teachers adopted a more empathetic view of the community members' cultural discourse; they changed to more child centred methods and appreciated villagers' contributions to lessons. The cultural practitioners felt culturally recognized, they experienced how their input was valued and developed a sense of responsibility for their children's performance at school, shown through their preparedness to get further involved in classroom teaching. Still, ICAE, as introduced in the six intervention schools, did not show sufficient sustainability. I was the catalyst for the actions which led to the changes; with my withdrawal, as one coordinator expressed it, 'teaching will be back to normal'.

### **11.11.1 Community Based Education**

ICAE as introduced laid emphasis on didactical, methodological and administrative aspects, including elements of 'Community-Based Education' as advocated by Corson (1998):

Policies of reform in indigenous education always involve the school's community in its work, not just to communicate work of the school to parents, but to draw on the community's knowledge, expertise, and cultural practices to shape the work that schools do and make it relevant to the lived experience of children from aboriginal backgrounds (p.339).

But, another rather political element of community-based education was missing in my intervention as Corson (ibid) continues:

In doing this, it is sometimes necessary for schools to reduce the influence that other agencies outside the local community have over the school's operations. It is clear from studies of reform in diverse contexts that community involvement is often frustrated when people from indigenous backgrounds find that all the major decisions are made by



remote officials, who do not share the culture of the place, and might not care very much about it. ... Jackie Daigle (1997) sees community based education as a form of social action within a community framework that extends beyond schools as institutions. It allows community members to become self-oriented participants in the creation of the learning environment that the school offers. ... Community-based education begins with people and their immediate reality. Above all, it allows them to become meaningfully involved in shaping their own futures through the school and other agencies in their community. In fact, meaningful school reform often depends on this kind of participation, in which people renegotiate and reconstruct the ways in which a school relates to its community's interests. ... Community-based education tries to put into practice many of the reforming educational ideas of Paolo Freire (1972), who urged people to become self-aware and active political subjects. He especially wanted to enable learners to become active participants in shaping their own education. (p. 339)

### **11.11.2 Parents-School-Partnership**

I see the need to extend the concept of ICAE in this sense towards parents-school-partnership rather than limiting it to mere parental involvement. Taylor (1980) cautions that in the pursuance of home-school links, parent-professional collaboration

...can only be performed within the context of a complex set of traditions, value assumptions and attitudes regarding the roles and relationships of family and society, individual and state (p.17).

ICAE has to provide the platform for this quality of collaboration. This partnership should not begin with conducting lessons but already in the phase of lesson planning, scheming, even syllabus drawing; it should include the posting of teaching staff, the school's time-tabling, all decisions concerning the running of the school.

Presently, the gap in the cultural discourse prevents true parent-school partnership. The schools' culture of dealing is determined by the dominant group, a combination of Tswana-dom and English-dom; this is not only expressed by the exclusively legitimized use of Setswana and English as languages of dealing, but also through a complex protocol. Competency in the culture of dealing provides power, lack of competency disempowers. Hence, introducing ICAE necessarily implies getting involved in a power

struggle. Merely shifting power from the dominant to the dominated is a futile struggle. Protective measures are in place to prevent loss of power. These measures include the application of cultural capital, economic capital, even force.

### **11.11.3 A Postmodernist Approach**

Community based education leading to true parents-school partnership demands, as a foundation, the appreciation of the culture(s) of the concerned communities. Considering the teaching of the Arts it demands a postmodernist approach as it is a method that 'embodies the value of social pluralism, ethnic diversity, tradition and contextualism.' (Hambeln, 1991) and values local knowledge and the input of non-experts, 'in contrast to the rationalism and technological expertise valued by the modernist' (*Ibid*).

When introducing ICAE in schools in my research area I laid emphasis on appreciating local knowledge in form of artistic skills, representing the cultural capital of the dominated culture. Inviting local cultural practitioners contributed towards local knowledge not being 'taught about' but being 'lived' in the classroom. Besides placing value on their community culture as equally appreciated, my postmodernist approach did not replace teaching 'technological expertise' and putting value on modernists aspects, but rather offered a door opener for the pupils to access the arts taught through such conservative methods. The postmodernist approach was also a door opener for the teachers to discover educational value in the culture of the communities within which they live and work. ICAE activities offered teachers a chance to experience their pupils as active learners rather than mere consumers and they were able to see members of local communities as contributors in education, contrary to most teachers' assessment of (the largely illiterate) parents as non-cooperative and uncaring about the education of their children.

#### **11.11.4 Dialectical Reason**

Incorporating the idea of 'dialectical reason', 'a method of understanding complex social phenomena in terms of interaction, conflict and change', ICAE offers chances for the conflicting parties to interact and work for positive change. Thompson (2003) compares dialectical reason to analytic reason:

Dialectical reason does not contradict or invalidate analytical reason, it goes beyond it. Analytical reason breaks things down into component parts, and this is an essential first step and needs to be followed by synthesis – the linking together of those parts into a coherent whole. This process of synthesis, or...totalization, is the hallmark of dialectical reason ... The basis of dialectical reason is conflict. The dialectic refers to the process by which conflicting forces come together and produce change. (Thompson, 2000a, p.68) Issues of inequality, discrimination and oppression can be seen to be characterized by interaction, conflict and change (or resistance to change), and so dialectical reason is an important part of the theoretical foundations of promoting equality (p.33).

Another powerful aspect of ICAE is its demand for flexibility, continuous review and adaptation to a new situation. This is yet another feature that ICAE shares with the concept of dialectical reason, as Thompson (2003) explains:

An important point to emphasize with regard to the dialectic is that it refers to a continuing process, a perpetual series of interactions. One common misunderstanding is that the syntheses produced by dialectical interaction are, in some way, final outcomes or end results. This view of the dialectic fails to recognize the dynamic nature of dialectical reason – it refers, by definition, to a continuous process of change (p.33).

#### **11.11.5 Borrowing from a Feminist Approach**

As 'issues of inequality, discrimination and oppression can be seen to be characterized by interaction, conflict and change' (Thompson, 2003), I see awareness of one's own positionality and awareness of the other stakeholders' positionality in the process of cooperation in achieving positive change as crucial. This concept I borrow from the feminist approach citing Griffiths (1995) who argues that

None of the feminist epistemologies assume or argue that the perspective of individual human beings can be superseded by the 'objective' 'view from nowhere' or by a 'God's eye view'. All of them assume that the self or subjectivity is a starting point.

Nevertheless, this approach does not characterise my thesis as 'feminist research' as my work does not focus explicitly on social injustice exclusively suffered by female community members; it does not target inequalities based on gender.

#### **11.11.6 Collaborative Action Research**

The importance of allowing diverse and sometimes conflicting voices in collaborative work combined with continuous review and adaptation to a new situation was also expressed by Walker (2004), referring to a collaborative action research project that she and her colleagues were engaged in. She argued:

If hegemony works to perpetuate the status quo and maintain control, then keeping open different ways of seeing and voicing different experiences is significant, while expunging disagreements and eliminating frictions may well simply mask the power relations which are present in an interactive encounter. ... it was the rasp of conflict that opened space for the most interesting discussions and disagreements about student learning. ...working with many different voices and different perspectives in a framework of mutual support and knowledge, generates more responsible and inclusive knowledge. This is very unlike dominant modes of knowledge production... which are competitive and adversarial (even where working in teams is part of the process) (p.182).

An important precondition for collaborative work as incorporated in ICAE is its being framed in 'mutual support and knowledge'. Giving it a chance of success in reducing hegemony, ICAE needs to envisage cooperation between teachers as representatives of the dominant culture and villagers as members of the dominated culture, to envisage 'working with many different voices and different perspectives' based on mutual respect and valuating of each party's input. Such quality of cooperation demands in my view the involvement of all participants in collaborative action research as envisaged in future as an extension of my present ICAE project, being aware that it is the rasp of conflict that

opens space for the most interesting discussions and disagreements leading to positive change.

### **11.11.7 Ontological Security**

Collaborative work creates grounds for the promotion of, what Giddens (1991), cited by Thompson (2003), calls, 'ontological security' in all the persons involved. For the work of 'promoting equality', Thompson introduces the personal position 'P' or 'agency' as one of the three levels at which discrimination and oppression can either manifest or be counteracted. To promote equality he highlights the importance of ontological security at P level as he comments:

In order to promote equality we need to develop forms of ontological security that are sufficiently robust to equip us to deal with the existential pressures and challenges that we face, while remaining sufficiently flexible to resist and counter the stultifying tendencies that derive from dominant forms of oppression. Ontological security has the potential to play a part in countering discrimination and oppression if the extremes of insecurity and rigid stability can be avoided (p.32).

Community members are, compared to teachers, disadvantaged in regard to pure formal educational skills and procedures. When they engage in ICAE activities to make contributions in the classroom, drawing from their own field of expertise and experience, they gain power to counter cultural domination; they gain ontological security, provided they experience appreciation and support from the school and their own community. Hence, introducing ICAE obliges me to ensure this appreciation and support from my side, but, more importantly, to advocate for appreciation and support from the school and the community.

In the current situation teachers endure oppressive circumstances as they feel the obligation to adhere to the authoritative system that operates on a uniform curriculum and examinations. They are not especially trained to work with children of an ethnic background differing from the dominant culture represented at school. As they are under pressure to produce nationally competitive academic results, while facing the challenge

of pupils' impassivity in lessons, low academic performance and the perceived lack of parental cooperation, teachers are frustrated and they tend to project the blame on their pupils and the parents, consequently rejecting the whole community. I see the excessive and unreasonable use of corporal punishment by teachers and the general negligence of duty partly as a result of this frustration. Thompson (2003) argues:

One possible consequence of stress is that we become so overloaded with pressure that we function far below our usual level of competence, possibly to the point where our practice becomes dangerous. One extreme outcome of prolonged exposure to stress is that of 'burnout', a psychological condition in which the person concerned functions 'on automatic pilot' – that is, in an unthinking, unfeeling way, cut off from the sensitivity issues involved in his or her work....(p.235)

A way of avoiding the above described situation was described by Thompson (2003), who cites Giddens (1991), putting forward the following argument: 'Identity, self-worth and psychological well-being owe a great deal to the development of ontological security.'

As Giddens (1991) argues:

...a person with a reasonably stable sense of self-identity has a feeling of biographical continuity which she is able to grasp reflexively and, to a greater or lesser degree, communicate to other people. That person also, through early trust relations, has established a protective cocoon which 'filters out', in the practical conduct of day-to-day life, many of the dangers which in principle threaten integrity on the self (p.54).

Through their involvement in ICAE, which has the potential to alleviate the current situation, teachers could gain ontological security, provided they maintain trust relations with administrative authorities, (in-service) teacher trainers and the community, including pupils, they serve and that they experience support and encouragement in carrying out their duties. This support, as precondition for the development of ontological security, I see not only as verbal support, as lip-service, I rather demand support through a sound in-service training, equipping teachers with methodological skills, cultural awareness and an empathetic attitude necessary to teach children with a differing cultural background.



I view the implementation of Intercultural Arts Education as contributing towards promoting equality and ontological security by including interculturalism in form of Community-Based Education including collaborative work based on dialectic reason, child centeredness, community involvement in classroom teaching, project teaching based on communities' (including pupils') cultural capital and interdisciplinary teaching. In that way, ICAE may lead to a productive working environment with open and inclusive norms of discourse. This kind of collaborative work bears the chance of changing the normally skewed power balance to create a situation in which all the people involved may develop higher levels of ontological security and feel lifted to more powerful positions with an improved sense of self-worthiness. The results of my research suggest the possibility of sharing power by lifting the professionals' power to higher levels of professionalism, by lifting the community members' power to higher levels of cultural recognition and involvement in shaping their own education, by lifting the pupils' power through their success.

## **11.12      Answering Research Questions b, c and d**

Considering the results of this study, I believe that ICAE may provide a way to bridge the cultural gap between learners' culture and the school. It bears the chance of changing attitudes of all people involved from mutual scepticism and prejudice towards mutual respect, increase of self-worth and the valuing of each party's contribution to an improved teaching/learning environment. Based on the findings of this study, I believe that ICAE has a positive effect on the attitude of teachers towards their general duties in school, towards pupils of diverse cultural backgrounds (in our case ethnic minority learners) and towards the local community members (who in this case have little or no formal education experience or qualifications and belong to cultures that are different from the teachers' own culture and the cultures on which school is based). Likewise, ICAE seems to have positive effects on the attitudes of learners; they gain positive self-assessment and dare to participate in class activities. This bears the chance for better



attendance and better academic performance, leading to a more positive attitude towards school. ICAE seems to benefit villagers who feel empowered to actively participate in the education of their children. By meeting teachers face-to-face in a collaborative work environment the chances of change of attitude from scepticism, fear or prejudice regarding school and teachers towards an environment of trust and acceptance is increased.

I consider implementing ICAE in the research area as feasible with some limitations. Most villagers, teachers, the chiefs and pupils involved in the study and officials responsible for research in the Ministry of Education and the University of Botswana supported my intervention. Cultural Practitioners suitable to cooperate in the project were available in all villages. The limitation was due to problems establishing links between some teachers and cultural practitioners.

### **11.13      Researcher's Professional Development**

My own professional development was closely connected to the development of this research. I had confidently planned research design that was rather positivist: capturing the situation pre-intervention, carrying out an intervention, capturing the situation post-intervention in order to measure the effect of the intervention. Soon I realised that the tools I used were, although generally appropriate, not as sharp in delivering results as I had presumed. Irritation led to openness: a-priori attributions of questionnaire items were then replaced by ex-post-facto attributions; structured interviews and systematic observations were supplemented by narratives and casual observations; I learned to perceive stumbling stones less caused by unwillingness of stakeholders but rather as their limitations, partly due to their inability to free themselves from bureaucratic and cultural restrictions; most importantly, I learned to perceive my planned intervention not solely as my brainchild with me as the sole planning authority, but that it rather demands implementation constant dialogue with all partners; aspiring to achieve full collaboration with them as stakeholders. I realised that such systemic approach calls for

the involvement of schools and communities in all stages of its implementation; that it calls for collaborative action research.

I see my aspiration to initiate action research in collaboration with teachers, teacher trainers and community members, including pupils, in the Kweneng West Sub-District as a result of the professional growth I experienced while working on this thesis. Collaborative Action Research demands from my side the abolishment of getting involved in a power struggle in my aspiration for positive change, but rather demands preparedness to listen to voices I don't want to hear, to give up ideas in favour of compromises, even, to a certain extend, help paving ways I don't want to walk.

## **12 Recommendations**

Working in the field of primary education in Botswana I observed inefficiencies in the education of learners in the Kweneng West Sub-District of the country. My observations were confirmed by reports of different research teams and prompted me to draw my first premise that

the prevailing inefficiencies in the education of Kweneng West learners are caused by the systematic lack of recognition for their differing ethnicity (languages and cultures) in the design and execution of the mainstream (Tswana) based curriculum.

I developed the concept of Intercultural Arts Education (ICAE) assuming that

ICAE bears the potential to bridge the existing cultural gap between school and community, thereby alleviating problems associated with cultural alienation, which contributes to low school attendance and high dropout rates of ethnic minority pupils as well as their low academic performance.

Pre-intervention data collected before introducing ICAE in six schools of the area supported my first assumption; post-intervention data supported my second assumption.

### **12.1 Limitations**

I am aware of limitations regarding research findings drawn from my intervention: I consider the findings applicable only to the integrated subject 'Arts Education' taught in primary school classes in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana. As my observations naturally demand my presence, conclusions based on observations regarding sustainability of changes in attitudes of stakeholders are beyond my assessment. Hence, conclusions regarding sustainability are restricted to questionnaire results, which were obtained shortly after completing my intervention activities, too

short a period to reflect long-term effects. Consequently, I partly make short term recommendations, suitable for immediate implementation, but suggest further research to be carried out in order to evaluate and extend findings for future innovations.

## **12.2 Short Term Recommendations**

I recommend the introduction of Intercultural Arts Education in primary schools in the Kweneng West Sub-District of Botswana. This recommendation calls for the following considerations:

1. Redesigning of the syllabus for Creative and Performing Arts (CaPA) including, in addition to the subjects visual art, music, drama, physical education (dance) and design and technology, which are already integrated in CaPA, the subject literary arts. Within the CaPA syllabus a strong representation of the cultures, including minority languages which predominate in the respective areas, must be ensured. These subjects need to be integrated rather than listed in an additive manner. Project teaching with the involvement of community members needs to be encouraged explicitly in the syllabus.

I am a member of the 'Arts and Crafts Education Subject Panel' in Botswana, which is, in cooperation with the Curriculum Development Unit (CDU), responsible for drawing the CaPA syllabus. I am hopeful to exercise sufficient influence within this panel to get the above suggestions regarding changes of the syllabus approved.

2. Training teachers in ICAE to specialise them in teaching children, whose mother tongue and culture are not Tswana based, through pre-service courses at colleges and/or at the university.

As a lecturer in the Department of Primary Education in the University of Botswana I am charged with the responsibility to propose arts courses within my

department. I am confident that proposals including ICAE courses will be approved by the education faculty and the university senate.

The teacher education colleges are affiliated to the university. Their course proposals must be reviewed, vetted and approved by the University of Botswana. I will hopefully be successful in encouraging my colleagues at the colleges and at the panel to include ICAE courses also in the curriculum of the colleges.

3. Offering teachers, who teach in areas where Setswana is not spoken as the first language by a considerable number of community members, supportive in-service training in ICAE under the auspices of teacher training colleges and/or the university.

Offering in-service teacher training programmes lies in the responsibility of the 'Department of Teacher Training and Development' (TT&D) of the Ministry of Education. Courses are organised and conducted by the department's education centres. The centre responsible for the research area is in Molepolole. Enquiries at TT&D regarding collaboration of college and/or university lecturers in offering in-service courses for primary school teachers informed me that such support was welcomed and that the routine of running the centres accommodates the involvement of external resource persons (here: arts lecturers) in conducting courses. To cater for the involvement of community members in conducting ICAE in-service courses for teachers, I regard it necessary that courses be held in the villages. As presently, in-service courses are predominantly held at the centres' premises, which are already equipped with workshop facilities, I might face resistance in opting for ICAE courses being conducted at the schools. I hope my call for collaboration in ICAE in-service training will be positively answered by lecturers from colleges and/or the university.

4. Offering an induction course in ICAE for community members, who cooperate in teaching.

I plan the induction courses for community members to be held first at the *kgotla*, later at the primary school of the village under the auspices of the education centre. I see the need for me to be personally involved in conducting the courses as I am familiar with the villagers' culture and language, an advantage most, if not all, arts lecturers to be involved will lack. I hope to identify and train suitable teachers who are prepared to support and eventually take over this area of responsibility.

5. Offering community members payment for cooperating in teaching ICAE lessons.

Presently, the Ministry of Education follows the policy of remunerating resource persons with official qualifications only. Resource persons with no official qualification are expected to volunteer in supporting the teaching of 'their' children. Even though I fear resistance to my proposal against offering laymen payment for cooperating in teaching ICAE lessons, remarks from an officer in the department of TT&D let me hope that I will find sufficient support from the department for approval of my proposal. I see the remuneration of community members for their contribution in classroom teaching as an essential step towards cultural recognition and an essential action towards social justice.

6. Appreciating the burden teachers (especially BaTswana teachers) bear through being posted in areas far from their homes, deprived of amenities available in urban centres, facing problems adapting to a community with a different cultural background and teaching children whose mother tongue and cultural set-up differ from the official school languages and the dominant culture.

Considering the extraordinary burden that the teachers posted in remote areas inhabited by non-Setswana speakers bear, I see it as necessary to acknowledge

their duty as a post of special responsibility with adequate remuneration. Furthermore, availability of equipment and consumable supplies should be ensured in order to create working conditions that are, as much as possible, equivalent to those in schools in urban areas. In view of the poor academic results of remote area learners, I believe the pressure and frustration of their teachers could also be reduced by refraining from making nationwide academic performance comparisons, but considering the challenges posed by the present curriculum and mode of examination which put urban learners at an advantage over their peers in remote areas.

To define my position: This consideration of the special challenges faced by ethnic minority learners should not be taken as a naturally given status quo, but as a compromise valid as long as the curriculum, teaching methods and the mode of examination disadvantage the children of ethnic backgrounds different from the dominant group. The ultimate goal for the country's education system should be to create conditions for remote area learners and/or pupils of ethnic minorities with differing cultures that provide the pupils with an education that offers them the same chances of performance as their peers from the dominant culture, which will consequently lead to achieving comparable academic results.

The supply of material for schools lies in the responsibility of the District Council. Problems regarding supply are often explained by lack of adequate transport to remote areas which are only accessible by 4x4 vehicles or trucks. I intend to initiate a meeting with council authorities responsible for supply and education officers of the region with the aim to discuss means of improving sufficient and timely supply of material to the schools. I believe problems of supply can already be reduced to a great extent by ensuring that material is ordered in time.



The decision regarding posts of responsibility awarded to teachers lies with the department 'Teaching Service Management' (TSM) of the Ministry of Education. I assume the department will find it difficult to award teachers a post of responsibility solely on the fact that they teach in a certain area of Botswana. I see better chances for such a reward if teachers have undertaken an additional special training in ICAE, as I suggested previously. I will contact the department TSM in order to negotiate possibilities of acknowledging the extraordinary burden on teachers who work in the areas inhabited by ethnic minorities who do not speak Setswana as their mother tongue. Furthermore, I will discuss possibilities of considering the fact that children of certain ethnic minority groups find it more difficult to acquire knowledge and skills based on a school culture and language alien to their own, when comparing nationwide examination results.

The training of teachers and community members in ICAE must focus on the essential ICAE-characteristics 'promoting social justice, equality and ontological security' by including interculturalism and community-based education, learner centeredness, community involvement in classroom teaching, project teaching based on communities' (including pupils') cultural capital and interdisciplinary teaching.

### **12.3 Long Term Recommendations**

In chapter four I presented constructive thoughts and suggestions expressed by researchers and activists to improve the situation towards more socially just conditions in the provision of education for ethnic minority learners in Botswana. Unfortunately, most ideas have never been put into practice; some have been recorded in research reports, at best, some have made their way into policy documents where they have remained unrealised to this day. Only a few ideas have been put into action within some privately run projects.

The practice as we observed in the research schools is mostly quite distant from implementing concepts such as equal dialogue, respecting diverse forms of knowledge, involvement of the community in deciding upon and controlling matters of education, learner centeredness, child-friendliness or avoidance of violence. Taking the 'museum in the box' program as an example, I believe that the main hindrance towards change in the Botswana education system, particularly in my research area, is the adherence to the 'top-down model' through which interventions are imposed on practitioners and local community members, who are both not consulted prior to the implementation of the interventions.

Daigle (1997) sees community based education as a form of social action within a community framework that extends beyond schools as institutions. Corson (1998) argues that community involvement is often frustrated when people from indigenous backgrounds find that all the major decisions are made by remote officials, who do not share the culture of the place, and might not care very much about it. He further cites Freire (1972) arguing that Community-based Education tries to put into practice many of the reforming educational ideas, urging people to become self-aware and active political subjects. In this mode learners were to be enabled to become active participants in shaping their own education.

I see another hindrance for successful innovation in the lack of follow-up, on-going teacher education and support, as well as internal and external evaluation of educational interventions. Appreciating the governmental attempts for change as well as the positive work done by various individuals and groups, I feel the need to advocate for constant reflection and evaluation in order to avoid pitfalls previously experienced, as I agree with Thompson (2003) who argues that

One of the benefits of evaluation... is that it helps us to remain open to new learning, to recognize that our work, however good, is never perfect. There are always ways in which we can improve, ways in which we can go a step further. This is particularly important relating to emancipatory practice. This is because issues of inequality, discrimination and oppression are so complex, and so prone to change over time, that we

should never rest on our laurels and assume that have ‘arrived’.... The field of inequality is a constantly changing one, with new challenges arising all the time. What is needed, then, is a degree of humility, a recognition that, however skilled, experienced or well informed we are, there is always a margin for error, and always scope for learning – an important principle on which to base all our attempts to promote equality (p.236).

These thoughts on involving stakeholders in collaboration on all levels of education and ensuring continuous evaluation and reflexion upon praxis have influenced my concept of ICAE. Offering clearly designed recommendations of structural implementations including fixed strategic plans would jeopardise my basic concept. ICAE demands flexibility regarding area and time: it cannot be put into practice following one identical structure for all villages; it cannot be put into practice following one structure once and for all; it needs to take into consideration unique circumstances in each community and the change of circumstances over time.

Communities, including the learners, need to be enabled, in line with Paulo Freire’s thoughts, to actively shape their own education. Each community needs to be included in a process of constant evaluation of the implementation of ICAE in order to initiate a constant process of re-adaptation.

In regard to targeting attitude change in teachers, I agree with (Dart, 2006) who worked in teacher education in Botswana in the area of special needs: Dart advocates for involving students in the process of reflection in order to review sustainability in teacher education and to assess the influence of new generations of teachers on schools and policies promoting inclusion. In line with this thought, I suggest that exposure of student-teachers to the field should be increased and reflection upon praxis be promoted as part of teacher education, so that student-teachers learn to assess the impact of their actions upon praxis and link the theories they learn to the classroom situation. I find extensive exposure to the field especially important for students specialising in ICAE, in order to allow for insightful guidance by teacher trainers in ways of collaborating with

community members of different cultural backgrounds. I transfer the suggestion of involving students undertaking pre-service training in the process of reflection to teachers, who are posted in areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, undertaking in-service training in ICAE.

Considering these thoughts regarding collaboration and continuous reflexion, action research suggests itself as an optimal tool for striving towards social justice in the education of culturally mal-recognised ethnic minority pupils. I recommend the involvement of all stakeholders, teachers, pupils, community members, counsel representatives, education officers and lecturers from colleges of education and the university in an action research project for implementing ICAE in primary schools in the Kweneng West Sub-District.

Such approach is challenging as it demands dialogue, hence, the demand to listen to all respective project collaborators' voices: the challenge lies especially in the need to listen to voices of people with a lower social status, to children's voices and to voices of members of non-recognised ethnic minorities. Dialogue also demands the readiness to express needs, ideas and to make suggestions. Hence, another challenge lies in community members', including the pupils', (dis)-ability to freely express themselves in their own cultural discourse in their communication with officials from the field of education. The prevalent top-down system might even hinder teachers from engaging in an open dialogue with their superiors.

Initiating action research demands from my side openness to consider these difficulties of the stakeholders in engaging in dialogue. It demands from my side facing the challenge and functioning as a mediator. I foresee temporary set backs in this attempt, especially because I assume some stakeholders may fear to lose ground in a power struggle; with patience and collegial support I hope to succeed in initiating action research based on stakeholders' mutual respect and constructive dialogue.

I will present a proposal for my envisaged action research project to the Department of Primary Education in the Ministry of Education of Botswana for approval. Once my research project is approved I will contact prospective collaborators to invite them for preliminary meetings in order to discuss their preparedness to participate. I hope to hold the first collaborative meeting with all stakeholders in January 2009.

The expansion of ICAE to other areas of the country and/or other types of schools is envisaged depending on the findings of this research project.

## 13 Epilogue

In a village at least 100 km away from both villages of my parents' origin, we stopped at a home that looked classically traditional. The garden was huge and clean; there were maize and watermelons growing at the far end of the garden behind the houses. There were two big traditional round houses, an outside cooking area with a neat and artistic, dense wooden fence. The same kind of fence ran around the whole yard. Under a beautiful tree with a thick, dark green foliage laid a frail old man. He lay on the bare sand, having his coat as a pillow. A home-carved chair stood next to him.

The beautifully carved wooden gate was opened and I entered the yard, calling "*koko!*" (This is a greeting and asking for permission to enter). The old man neither replied nor moved. I walked in slowly and quietly and knelt next to him. I bent down to greet him in Shekgalagari. The old man only opened one eye and whispered greetings. "I am dying", he moaned. The old man looked weak and he seemed emotionally down. I decided to still take my chance; he was, after all, a village elder and I was looking for the old people who are bearers of the local culture. I reported how I was out on a mission to investigate the causes of poor results and high dropout rates in schools in the whole Kweneng West Sub-District. I told him my intention to initiate dialogue and cooperation between the teachers/the school and people from the community in order for them to work together to improve the level of education in schools and explained that I had chosen the arts and culture as the meeting grounds between school and the community. He occasionally said a weak '*Ee*' (an indication that he was listening). I further reported that school children had given me names of people who were good at making the traditional arts and crafts. I read some of the names from the list. The old man opened his eyes and raised his head a little to listen to me. When I read out the name 'Batolopi', he smiled weakly and said, "*Batolopi ke nna*" – (Batolopi, that's me). Old Batolopi told me he used to practice various crafts, but that he was now on his way out to follow his ancestors. I lamented that it was a big shame he was going, because his name had been

mentioned three times for having skills in different crafts. His head was back down and his eyes closed, but he smiled warmly.

Before leaving I thought of letting Batolopi know, that I am part of the community of the research project. I explained that I was a niece to the Pulengs of Letlhakeng. I explained that my mother was a daughter of Tamelo, son of Puleng. The old man suddenly jumped up and back to life! He sat up, assuming a straight and firm posture as he looked at me. He spoke clearly but with laughter in his voice; "Are you talking about Puleng the son of Serame? Are you talking about those people of 'The Setting Sun?'" He continued: "Are you speaking of the Baboloongwe of Molehele?" I nodded all the time, smiling at him, amazed at how he had 'risen from death'. Old Batolopi told me that he was a direct descendent of Molehele himself. His father Mozumi was the son of Moilakgofe, the son of Molehele. I thought I would impress him by asking him if his grandfather was nicknamed Maburi (coming from *puri* - goat) as he is said to have had a huge herd of goats. The old man laughed loudly and pointed a finger at me; "I know you women of the Molehele, the descendents of my great-grand mother, you are quite tricky, you like to always be a step ahead of your opponents!" Old Batolopi assured me his support for the project. He would *tell* his son, whom he had trained in weaving and wood carving, to go to school to pass these trades on to the children! And so he did.



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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### STANDARD FOUR ATTAINMENT TEST 2005

#### ENGLISH

TIME: LANGUAGE 60 MINS MARKS: 50  
SPELLING 10 MINS

SURNAME: \_\_\_\_\_ NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

BOY

☐

GIRL

☐

SCHOOL: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE OF BIRTH: DAY ☐ MONTH ☐ YEAR ☐

#### GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. Read all questions carefully before you answer them.
2. All your answers must be in this question paper.
3. Use pencil to answer the questions.
4. When you are asked to tick the correct answer you must use this sign (✓)

## QUESTIONS 1 TO 5

Read the passage below and answer the questions that follow by circling the answers.

### THE STOLEN WATER

Kagiso is now an old man who lives peacefully beside the Okavango River. When he was younger, he had a dream which made him very restless. "I am tired of fishing," he announced one day. "I want to be a hunter so we must move far into the forest. I was told to do this in a dream."

Dineo, the old woman of the household was afraid. "Our home has always been beside the river. Our ancestors will punish us for leaving this place," she warned him. But Kagiso had made up his mind.

The following day the family packed their things onto a donkey-cart and moved far into the forest. On the way, Dineo held on to a small bag of herbs given to her by the *ngaka* to ward off the evil spirits.

After some days, they arrived at the place of the Great Baobab Trees. "This is where we will make our new home," said Kagiso. He unpacked the cart. "But there is only one small stream with very little water," his wife said. Kagiso paid no attention and started building their huts. Some time later, the stream dried out. "Now we shall die!" cried his wife. "The only water near here belongs to Makisi, the Fearful One, and he will not let us have any. He says we don't belong here."

Adapted from **The Stolen Water and Other Stories** (Jenny Davis & Libby Constandius, 1993).

1. Who is Kagiso?

- A The Fearful One
- B The old woman of the household
- C An old man who lived beside the Okavango River

8. A shoes, socks, shirt  
B socks, shoes, shirt  
C shirt, shoes, socks

### QUESTIONS 9 TO 11

Fill in the spaces with one of the following punctuation marks in order to complete each of the sentences correctly: ., ? !

9. Onions \_\_\_ tomatoes and cabbage are vegetables.  
10. Where do you go to school \_\_\_\_  
11. Susan is leaving now \_\_\_\_

### QUESTIONS 12 TO 14

Tick (✓) the word which completes each of the following sentences correctly.

12. I \_\_\_\_\_ to the cinema last night.  
A go                      B am going                      C went
13. Tom \_\_\_\_\_ to school tomorrow.  
A will run                      B was running                      C are running
14. Children \_\_\_\_\_ fruits but hate fruit juice.  
A like                      B liked                      C likes

### QUESTIONS 15 TO 18

**Use the following words to complete each of the sentences correctly:  
what, why, who, where, when.**

15. \_\_\_\_\_ was your birthday?
16. I did not hear \_\_\_\_\_ the teacher said.
17. \_\_\_\_\_ are you crying?
18. This is the place \_\_\_\_\_ I sleep.

### QUESTIONS 19 TO 21

**Circle the word which best completes each of the following sentences.**

19. This year our company has grown (big, bigger, biggest) than last year.
20. The cheetah is the (fast, faster, fastest) animal in Africa.
21. I have bought the (expensive, more expensive, most expensive) dress in town.

### QUESTIONS 22 TO 24

**Circle the word which best completes each of the following sentences.**

22. The dog was barking (on, at, with) the goats.
23. Thabo is playing (in, with, to) his friends.
24. Kagiso is sitting (at, in, between) Lorato and Kabo.

## APPENDIX A

**Circle the word which best completes each of the sentences in this Paragraph.**

I live with my mother and father who is called Sipho. 25 (They, Them) like visiting the museum very much. Father always drives us in 26 (him, his) car. My mother often plaits 27 (her, hers) hair before we go.

### QUESTIONS 28 TO 31

**Use the following words to complete the sentences below:  
because, if, since, but, and.**

28. You will pass your exams \_\_\_\_\_ you work hard.
29. The baby can laugh \_\_\_\_\_ cannot talk.
30. The young boy cried \_\_\_\_\_ he had hurt himself.
31. I haven't seen him \_\_\_\_\_ last week.

### QUESTIONS 32 TO 35

**The following phrases tell a story when arranged in the correct order. Arrange them so that they tell a story.**

- |                                       |          |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| 32. there was an old woman            | 1. _____ |
| 33. She was rich, but had no children | 2. _____ |
| 34. Once upon a time                  | 3. _____ |
| 35. who lived near a river            | 4. _____ |



Republic of Botswana

# Primary School Syllabus

## Creative and Performing Arts

### Standard One to Four

Curriculum Development Division  
Curriculum Development and Evaluation Department  
Ministry of Education

March 2002

Creative and Performing Arts Syllabus, Botswana



## MODULE 2: COMMUNICATION

Topics	General Objectives	Specific Objectives
	<i>Students should be able to:</i>	
2.1 Drawing	2.1.1 develop the ability to draw from their experiences and observations to express their feelings.	2.1.1.1 draw marks, lines and shapes on surfaces using different tools. 2.1.1.2 create drawings of their homes, nuclear and extended family, favourite animals or any subject of their own choice. 2.1.1.3 use a variety of tools on surfaces to express ideas and feelings. 2.1.1.4 make observation drawings. 2.1.1.5 use the crayon etching techniques to create different lines and shapes.
	2.1.2 develop awareness of the possibilities and limitations of different materials and tools.	2.1.2.1 experiment with tools and materials on topics that relate to their area of interest. 2.1.2.2 use found objects to make marks on different surfaces. 2.1.2.3 use hands to make marks, lines and shapes on the sand / soil. 2.1.2.4 create different texture rubbings on a variety of surfaces.
2.2 Painting	2.2.1 develop awareness and appreciation of various colours in the environment.	2.2.1.1 identify and name different colours from the natural and man-made environment. 2.2.1.2 identify colours as they relate to the forms in the environment. 2.2.1.3 identify and name colours from the spectrum. 2.2.1.4 differentiate primary and secondary colours. 2.2.1.5 mix primary colours to get secondary colours.
	2.2.2 develop awareness of the possibilities and limitations of painting tools.	2.2.2.1 identify various painting tools 2.2.2.2 discuss the use of tools and materials for painting. 2.2.2.3 use painting tools to make compositions in colour.

## APPENDIX B

### MODULE 3: LISTENING, COMPOSING AND PERFORMING

Topics	General Objectives	Specific Objectives
	<i>Students should be able to:</i>	<i>Students should be able to</i>
3.1 Sound	3.1.1 acquire knowledge and appreciation of sound.	3.1.1.1 list different sources of sound. 3.1.1.2 differentiate between natural and man-made sources of sound. 3.1.1.3 produce a variety of sounds.
3.2 Rhymes and Choreography	3.2.1 show control over the body in performing simple non-locomotor and locomotor movements.	3.2.1.1 identify beat in music. 3.2.1.2 move in time to the beat of a simple tune. 3.2.1.3 compose varied simple beats. 3.2.1.4 perform varied movements to the beat. 3.2.1.5 practise controlled movements with or without a stimulus.
	3.2.2 explore and discover rhymes.	3.2.2.1 sing rhymes and songs. 3.2.2.2 identify words that rhyme.
3.3 Body Percussion	3.3.1 develop the ability to produce various body sounds.	3.3.1.1 use different parts of the body to produce sounds. 3.3.1.2 combine different body sounds rhythmically for musical effect. 3.3.1.3 clap, sing and move to a steady beat.
3.4 Pitch and Duration	3.4.1 demonstrate low and high pitch.	3.4.1.1 sing the notes of the modulator ascending and descending. 3.4.1.2 sort out objects according to the pitch of sound. 3.4.1.3 imitate varied pitch of animal sounds. 3.4.1.4 produce high and low pitch with varied objects. 3.4.1.5 produce long and short sounds.
3.5 Dramatisation	3.5.1 develop the ability to dramatise stories and tales.	3.5.1.1 use facial expressions, gestures and songs to communicate stories and tales. 3.5.1.2 use movement to bring out the mood of the story.

## APPENDIX C

Raw data-Pupils' and Teachers' Pre and Post Questionnaire Results



## APPENDIX D

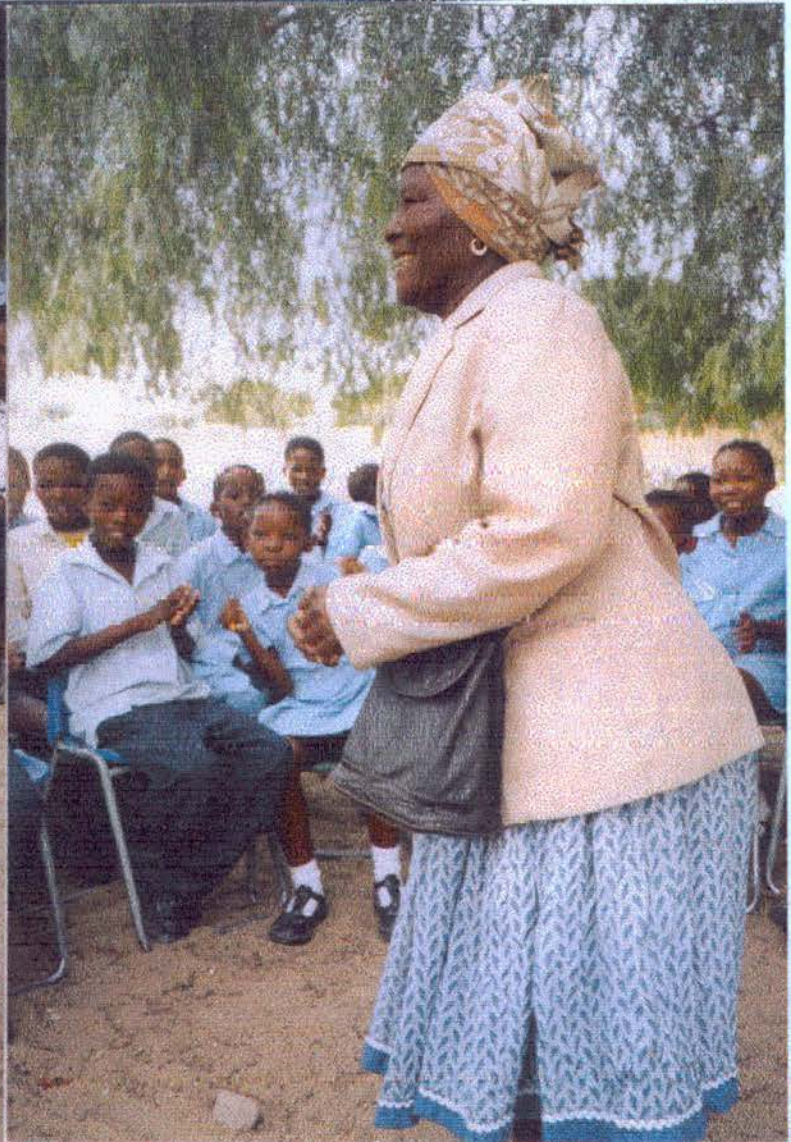


**A group of girls in one of the intervention schools, one of them proudly displaying her hand-made doll.**



## APPENDIX E

A member of the community demonstrating traditional dances and games in the school grounds



## APPENDIX F

Overview of results, pre and post intervention - teachers

Village Question number		pp easy to teach	I like living in village	I have friends in v.	I learned language	I manage to teach well
		Q1/E2	Q2/E3	Q3/E4	Q4/E5	Q5/E6
Average	pre-intervention	0.099	0.546	0.780	0.929	0.631
	post-intervention	0.113	0.496	0.801	0.894	0.560
Kaudwane	pre-intervention	0	0.625	0.875	0.875	<b>0.625</b>
	post-intervention	0	0.625	1	0.875	<b>0.25</b>
Khekhenye	pre-intervention	0	<b>0.571</b>	<b>0.571</b>	1	<b>0.143</b>
	post-intervention	0	<b>0.286</b>	1	1	<b>0.571</b>
Khudumelapye	pre-intervention	0.125	0.437	0.812	0.938	0.563
	post-intervention	0.063	0.25	0.75	0.938	0.625
Letlhakeng	pre-intervention	0	0.647	0.706	0.882	0.765
	post-intervention	<b>0.176</b>	0.471	0.647	0.824	0.765
Salajwe	pre-intervention	0	0.214	0.5	0.929	0.429
	post-intervention	0.143	0.426	0.643	1	0.5
Takatokwane	pre-intervention	<b>0.444</b>	0.778	0.778	0.889	0.778
	post-intervention	<b>0.111</b>	0.778	0.778	0.889	0.778



## APPENDIX G



Lack of care in classrooms: a common problem in schools



## APPENDIX H

TELEPHONE: 3655400

TELEX: 2944 THUTO BD

FAX: 351624/3655458

REFERENCE: E 11/17 XXXIV



REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

PRIVATE BAG 005

GABORONE

BOTSWANA

09 September 2004

Dear **KELONE KHUDU-PETERSEN**

### **PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH- Kelone Khudu-Petersen**

We acknowledge receipt of your research proposal to conduct a research in primary schools in the Kweneng Districts. You have been granted permission to conduct your research entitled:

### **INTRODUCING INTERCULTURAL ARTS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS IN AREAS WITH MULTI ETHNIC POPULATION IN BOTSWANA**

You are now ever reminded that the findings of your research should be used in Botswana and for the requirements to fulfil the award of PhD at The Nottingham Trent University, England.

Thank you

M I Mokubung  
For / Permanent Secretary

The Research Permit

## APPENDIX I



### The Scottish Storytelling Centre

The Netherbow  
43-45 High Street  
Edinburgh, EH1 1SR  
Tel: 0131 556 2647 or 0131 556 9579  
Email: [reception@scottishstorytellingcentre.com](mailto:reception@scottishstorytellingcentre.com)  
[www.scottishstorytellingcentre.co.uk](http://www.scottishstorytellingcentre.co.uk)

Kelone Khudu-Petersen  
8/4 Blacket Avenue  
Edinburgh  
EH9 1RS

5 October 2007

#### Scottish Storytelling Forum

Dear Kelone

The Scottish Storytelling Forum is delighted to give you the first Nancy & Hamish Turner Storytelling Award. This is in recognition of your work in using live storytelling to bridge cultural gaps and encourage young learners to be confident and creative. We also hope that this award will also stimulate further cooperation between Botswana and Scotland.

I enclose a cheque for £750 and would be grateful for your acknowledgement of receipt.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Dr Donald Smith  
Honorary Treasurer

The Scottish Storytelling Centre is a partnership between the Scottish Storytelling Forum and The Church of Scotland.

**Founding Patron**  
George Mackay Brown  
SCO: 11353  
VAT No. GB671 0989 13



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